

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I LIBRARY

“PRACTICING ECONOMY”: CHAMORRO AGENCY AND U.S. COLONIAL  
AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS, 1898-1941

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES

SUMMER 2018

By

Elyssa Juline Santos

Thesis Committee:

David Hanlon, Chairperson  
Terence Wesley-Smith  
Tarcisius Kabutaulaka  
Lola Quan Bautista

We certify that we have read this thesis and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Pacific Islands Studies.

THESIS COMMITTEE

---

Chairperson

For my Nina, Christine Miranda (January 3, 1971- June 23, 2018),  
whose personality I share and whose spirit accompanied me throughout the writing of this  
thesis.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A great number of individuals and institutions are deserving of my deepest appreciation for their support and contributions to this thesis. My passion for Guam History, Pacific History, and oral history is owed to the mentorship of instructors at the University of Guam (UOG). My former History professor, Dr. Anne Perez Hattori, continues to tell me not to sell myself short and embark on new journeys. Graduate school would not have been possible had it not been for her encouragement. Like her, Dr. James Perez Viernes has always looked out for my best interests and continues to inspire me as a young Chamorro scholar. I met Dr. Viernes around the same time as Señora Teresita Flores who showed me the depth and beauty of the Chamorro language. Señora Flores continues to demonstrate the value and pleasure of a career centered on culture, language, and heritage. Last but not least amongst this UOG family is Dr. Michael Clement, Jr. who is both a great History mentor as well as my appointed life coach. I appreciate his accepting every late-night phone call from Hawaii to talk me through each “crisis.” Through Dr. Clement, I met the lovely Francine Clement whose strength continues to inspire me.

Through Dr. Hattori and Dr. Viernes, I learned of the Center for Pacific Islands Studies (CPIS), an institution deeply committed to serving Pacific communities and Oceanian students. It has been a pleasure working with committee members Dr. Terence Wesley-Smith, Dr. Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, and Dr. Lola Bautista, as well as other CPIS faculty and staff to include Dr. Alex Mawyer, Dr. Mary Hattori (now at Chaminade University), Dr. James Perez Viernes (now at UH Mānoa), Dr. Jan Rensel, Dr. Julie Walsh, Jennifer Mercado, Samalaulu Chrissy Lam Yuen, and Malia Infiel. I am grateful for the early brainstorming sessions with Dr. Terence and his patience throughout the paperwork process. I also appreciate Dr. Tara for taking the time to sit with me and map out my thoughts. His sense of humor has also been refreshing and made the writing process much more enjoyable. I am also



grateful for Dr. Lola's thorough reviews as well as her warmth which sustained me throughout this journey. A special thanks goes out to Dr. Mawyer for helping me improve my confidence and telling me "you're right where you need to be."

Through Dr. Anne Hattori and Dr. Viernes, I was introduced to the East-West Center (EWC). The Center's institutional support has made graduate school become a reality and has contributed tremendously to my scholarly, professional, and personal development. Thank you to former Dean of Education Mary Hammond for your warm welcome and support even post-retirement. Un dāngkolo na si Yu'us Ma'āse to the Education team, especially to Bronson and Dean Ann Hartman. Dean Ann, I will always appreciate your making time to chat and learn about my interests, helping me build my professional network, and eating pizza rolls with me by the WES food table.

To my colleagues in the East-West Center Participant Association, I am grateful to have served with you. It was also a pleasure working alongside Gretchen Alther whose collaborative work with Pacific islander community leaders is extremely admirable. Thank you to Stella Kolinski who opened her doors to me throughout my days at the Center. I am also deeply indebted to Mama Trudy and Papa Al Wong for welcoming me into their EWC ohana and into their home when I had a beg bug issue at the dorm at the time of my defense (the final stretch had been a real test of strength and perseverance).

Much love also goes out to the members of the Pan-Pacific Association (PPA) who served as my family away from home. Mo, Jonathan, Omid, Enly, Sopa, and Teo... I love you, bros. To my sisters a.k.a. the "Mānoa Valley Girls" – Mary, Katherine, Trish, Liz, Diliaur, Taylor, and Amy – I will forever cherish the moments we shared at "the fort" as well as our decompression sessions at Chiang Mai, Ross, Whole Foods, and Targét. And who can forget the other two musketeers – Payal and Soksamphoas – who I began this EWC journey with?

Beyond the East-West Center, I've learned a great deal from my Pacific History professors, Dr. David Hanlon and Dr. David Chappell. As my Committee Chair, Dr. Hanlon has been extremely encouraging and patient throughout this research process. I am fortunate to have taken as many of his classes prior to his much-deserved retirement. As a Pacific historian specializing in the region known as "Micronesia", he continues to be an inspiration to myself and others.

While taking classes under Dr. Hanlon and Dr. Chappell, I had the pleasure of learning from History classmates Amanda Sullivan Lee, Terava Lana Casey, Ami Ishihara Mulligan, Kaipo Matsumoto, and Garrett Hillyer. I appreciate their writing workshop invitations, pep talks, and tips on "how to grad school" while being a History student.

This research is archive-heavy thanks to the help of the staff at the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC). Thank you to Dr. Monique Storie, Auntie Lou, and Mrs. LaVonne for sharing with me MARC's treasures as well as your food. A special thanks goes out to Auntie Carmen for her love and affection, and for assisting me long-distance to retrieve necessary source information. The staff of the UH Mānoa Hawaii-Pacific Collection – Eleanor Kleiber, Stu Dawrs, Kapena Shim, and Anne Rabinko – are also greatly appreciated for their assistance and friendliness.

Providing me a safe space to practice my indigenous activism include Kumu Noenoe Silva and scholars Vehia Wheeler, Serena Ngaio Simmons, Joy Enomoto, and Kim Compoc. Thank you to Aiko Yamashiro for reminding me to remind myself why I'm here in the first place. Much love to LeeAna yan i ma'estra-hu Kisha Borja-Quichocho for your therapeutic red rice and kelaguen and for talking with me whenever I needed my Chamorro fix.

Much love also goes out to Nohno Yoanna, Auntie Kathy, and Malia for being my escape from academia, my shoulders to lean on, and my inspiration as Pacific community leaders.

I will be forever grateful to my elders who've participated in prior research interviews featured in this thesis: my great-grandmother, Francisca Quintanilla Franquez, Ben Meno, Ben Gumataotao, and Nito Blas.

Un dāngkolo na Si Yu'us Ma'āse to Dr. Miget Bevacqua, Ken Gofigan Kuper, and i mañelu-hu Andrew, Victoria, Betu, Hannah, Jesse, Tia, Kallen, and Manny for their unapologetic Chamorro-ness, inspiring activism, and support from home.

Last but not least, un dāngkolo na si Yu'us Ma'āse to my family on Guam whose *chenchule'* and prayers have kept me alive while living abroad for the first time. Thank you to my parents, Francine M. Leon Guerrero and Joey M. Santos, and my brother, Brendan Santos, for their endless love and support throughout my life. I am also deeply indebted to my grandparents and great-grandparents who continue to make sacrifices for myself and for our families. Thank you to Grandma Julie and Mrs. Umagat for helping my mom fly out to attend my graduation and to Ms. Connie and Mrs. Mendiola for holding down the fort while she was with me. Thank you, Grandma Julie and Papa Charles, for always coming to my financial rescue and supporting my education. I also love my Auntie Ciyn, Nina Lorie, Auntie Jeannie, Auntie Lisa, Auntie Irene and Nina Chris for being my role models as strong Chamorro women. A special thank you is also dedicated to the Edelo family who hosted me in Hawaii. I am deeply indebted to Auntie Lola who continues to nurture my mind, body, and soul. I love you all.

Last but not least, thank you to my Marenau for your love, support, and patience.

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is a historical analysis of economic development on Guam during the early U.S. naval administration (1898-1941). It focuses largely on the development of the agricultural industry which was perceived by colonial officials as the most accessible to Chamorros and therefore the industry with the greatest potential to transform Guam into a modern economy. By the early twentieth century, the United States was experiencing an economic depression, making it increasingly challenging to sustain its overseas empire. Consequently, the pro-imperial bureaucrats embarked on a campaign to make its colonies like Guam more “self-sustaining.” To lower the cost of administering the island and to combat food and funding shortages, the naval government imposed a series of development projects. Said to be implemented for the benefit of the people of Guam, these colonial projects worked to inscribe notions of American patriotism and loyalty onto Chamorro bodies and instill in them western economic values and practices. This thesis thus challenges the notion of American benevolent assimilation through an investigation of colonial agricultural project case studies. Beyond investigating the nature of colonial projects, I examine Chamorro resistance to them as well as the complexities of Chamorro agency within them. Ultimately, I am presenting an entangled history that attempts to challenge simplistic notions of a prosperous pre-war agrarian society to the credit of a benevolent American colonial administration.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments .....	iii
Abstract .....	vii
List of Figures .....	x
Preface .....	1
 CHAPTER 1 ENTANGLED HISTORIES: CANONICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GUAM'S PRE-WAR ECONOMY .....	 9
Theoretical Framework: Re-Making Micronesia .....	12
Benevolent Assimilation: American Ideology in the Pre-War Period .....	13
Hanlon's Analysis: "Economics as Culture" .....	14
Development as Discourse .....	15
A New Age, A New Stage .....	18
 CHAPTER 2 RE-MAKING GUAM: U.S. COLONIAL ATTEMPTS TO TRANSFORM GUAM'S ECONOMIC LANDSAPE .....	 21
Crown Lands, Chamorro Hands .....	25
"Land Rich, Dollar Poor" .....	27
The Road to Improvement .....	31
Håyi i Thief? (Who is the Thief?) .....	34
"More Better" Machinery .....	38
"The Dignity of Labor" .....	40
Currency of the Soil .....	43
"The American Way" .....	44
 CHAPTER 3 STATIONED TO SERVE: THE GUAM AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION .....	 53
The Piti Station .....	54
Outlying Possessions .....	59
"Experimental Knowledge" .....	62
Bare Fruits .....	67
Seeds of Surveillance .....	70
Friction and Failures .....	73
 CHAPTER 4 EN/GENDERED SPACES: AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS AT HOME AND SCHOOL .....	 79
The Rising Generation .....	81
Planting the Seeds .....	84
"To the Ranch, Young Folks" .....	86
For the Joses, Juans, and Vicentes .....	91
What Have We Done for Her Stomach? .....	93
In "Good Hands" .....	97
 CHAPTER 5 IN DE-FENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF GUAM .....	 105
The Guam Congress .....	106
Guam, A Credit to Our Country .....	108
A New Decade .....	110
Navigating the Public Domain .....	113
What is to be done with Guam? .....	115
On the Road that Leads to Independence .....	118

CHAPTER 6: WE REMEMBER: CONSIDERING HISTORIES OF RESISTANCE WITHIN CONTEMPORARY FOOD SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENTS .....	122
Post-carding the Past .....	126
Independent Guahan: Food Sovereignty Discussions .....	127
Food for Thought .....	128
 BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	 133

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b><u>Figure</u></b>	<b><u>Page</u></b>
1. Guam Farmers' Market in Dededo Village .....	1
2. Farmers' Market facility in Dededo, Guam.....	8
3. Farmers returning to Agat village .....	11
4. Cartoon in the <i>Guam News Letter</i> , July 1912.....	22
5. Farmer Using Fosiño .....	38
6. Meat Market in Agaña, Guam, 1916 .....	45
7. Yigo Farmers .....	46
8. Francisca Quintanilla Franquez, 97 .....	48
9. "U.S. Sailors and Marines Keep Agaña Markets Prosperous".....	52
10. Map of Guam.....	54
11. Map of Agricultural Experiment Station, Island of Guam.....	58
12. Agronomy and Horticultural Exhibits at Guam Industrial Fair, July 1918 .....	72
13. Enlarged Poultry Plan, Guam Agricultural Experiment Station .....	78
14. Portion of Cattle Exhibit, Guam Industrial Fair, 1917.....	80
15. Mangilao School Principal Francisco Q. Sanchez, Umatac, supervising students at work in the garden .....	85
16. Boys and Girls Club Building .....	86
17. Weighing club garden vegetables .....	88
18. Pineapple Field .....	96
19. Mr. L. T. Siguenza, Agricultural Extension Agent .....	104
20. Guam Congress.....	107
21. U.S. Citizenship delegates, 1936.....	110
22. Garden Demonstrations on Naval Government Farm at Barrigada, 1918 .....	112
23. Station Residence, 1915. ....	121

24. Woman Shopping .....	125
25. Juanita Calvo of Guam Institute .....	132



## PREFACE

It was a hot Saturday morning in 2017 when my parents and I walked through the newly built Farmers' Market located in Dededo village, Guam. The market was booming with people exploring the goods of adjacent vendors that comprised the flea market section of the lot. While other patrons invested their time in tasting delicious barbeque sticks, buying sets of “three for ten” dollar t-shirts, and observing street entertainment, I had a different agenda. In addition to produce stands set up under the tall, outdoor extension of the building, I inspected the loading dock, decorative exterior accents, and whatever I could view from outside the open door of the facility. I had also heard about the inclusion of a meeting room which was to serve as a gathering place for members of the Farmers' Cooperative Association of Guam.



**Figure 1. Guam Farmers' Market in Dededo Village**

(Bart Lawrence, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G-TGu93DtCo>, January 8, 2017)

This fascination with the Farmers' Market developed years back in 2012 when I interviewed my now ninety-seven-year old great-grandmother, Francisca Quintanilla Franquez, for my 20<sup>th</sup> Century Guam History undergraduate course at the University of

Guam. I wanted to know more about her experiences under the U.S. naval administration (1898-1941). She recalled the joys and hardships of life before World War II and, particularly, the hard work of her siblings who put her and her younger sister through school through farming and side professions like carpentry and sewing. She also recalled the liveliness of the Farmers' Market then located in the capital of Agaña (Hagåtña). Intrigued by her stories, I engaged in historical research pertaining to the Farmers' Market (also referred to as the Public Market or Agaña Market) and other spaces that originated as colonial projects.

I followed news from the 1940s to the present regarding the post-WWII movement to resurrect the facility for Guam farmers. As agriculture came second to tourism in the government's post-war economic development agenda, spaces like the Farmers' Market began to hold greater significance to those still practicing a full or semi-subsistence lifestyle. What was once a colonial project intended to alter the Chamorro economic system had now become an institution cherished by the remaining generation of Chamorros farmers because of its symbolic power. Essentially, these farmers were both resisting modernity while simultaneously considering ways in which spaces like the Farmers' Market could work to their advantage in the evolving economy. Previous attempts to make space for them – such as within the Chamorro Village marketplace<sup>1</sup> – prioritized other elements of the tourist experience and thus drowned the Farmers' Market in a sea of knick-knacks and other items imported from places like Philippines and Hawai'i.

In their ongoing fight for a permanent facility, ten Chamorro farmers delivered oral and written testimony in front of the Guam Legislature. In both the Chamorro and English language, these farmers shamed the government for its neglect and leaving them “homeless”.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Hong K. Sohn, *A Public Market Feasibility Study: The Prospect of Agriculture on Guam, U.S.A.* (Agaña: Economic Research Center, Dept. of Commerce, Government of Guam, 1977).

<sup>2</sup> I Mina'trentai Dos na Liheslaturan Guåhan, *Committee Report of Senator Vicente (ben) Cabrera Pangelinan (D), Bill No. 77-32 (COR) As Introduced: An Act to amend Section 68975 of Chapter 68, Article 11, Title 21 of the Guam Code Annotated relative to the development of the Farmer's Market*

Some also called out the U.S. military for denying them access to essential resources like water and made connections between historical injustices and present-day land and agricultural issues.<sup>3</sup> The farmers also asserted their responsibility to ensure the security of vital resources like land and food for future generations.<sup>4</sup> As the farmer demographic continues to change to include Chamorro retirees and immigrants, some Chamorro farmers appear ever more concerned about the link between farming and indigeneity.

This history remained at the back of my mind as I gazed upon the new facility. I wondered if it was everything those farmers had wanted. Running my fingers along the mounds of produce, I heard a white woman behind me say, “The Chamorros say they don’t eat healthy food because it’s too expensive and inaccessible. Well, looking at this, there’s no excuse.” While I admit that there was some truth to her comments regarding Chamorro diets today, I believe that Guam’s current food system must be contextualized. The woman failed to acknowledge the link between colonialism and agriculture on Guam, and how centuries of tampering with the indigenous food system has negatively impacted its people. Comments like this woman’s are heard all too often on Guam and it is because of them that I’ve become more invested in learning about Guam’s economic history and the transformative nature of

---

*Facility by the Farmer’s Cooperative Association of Guam, Inc.*, Testimony of Ms. Angelita P. Mendiola, Member of the Guam Cooperative Farmer’s Association (Agana, Guam, 2013), 7, [http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public\\_Laws\\_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf](http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> I Mina’trentai Dos na Liheslaturan Guåhan, *Committee Report of Senator Vicente (ben) Cabrera Pangelinan (D), Bill No. 77-32 (COR) As Introduced: An Act to amend Section 68975 of Chapter 68, Article 11, Title 21 of the Guam Code Annotated relative to the development of the Farmer’s Market Facility by the Farmer’s Cooperative Association of Guam, Inc.*, Testimony of Hope Cristobal, Member of the Guam Cooperative Farmer’s Association (Agana, Guam, 2013), 4, [http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public\\_Laws\\_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf](http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> I Mina’trentai Dos na Liheslaturan Guåhan, *Committee Report of Senator Vicente (ben) Cabrera Pangelinan (D), Bill No. 77-32 (COR) As Introduced: An Act to amend Section 68975 of Chapter 68, Article 11, Title 21 of the Guam Code Annotated relative to the development of the Farmer’s Market Facility by the Farmer’s Cooperative Association of Guam, Inc.*, Testimony of Ernie Wusstig, Member of the Guam Cooperative Farmer’s Association (Agana, Guam, 2013), 4, [http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public\\_Laws\\_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf](http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf).

colonial agricultural projects.

With community members becoming more vocal in recent decades, it is safe to say that Guam is currently witnessing a growing food sovereignty movement despite whether advocates are using the term explicitly or not. Food sovereignty, as a concept, can be traced back to a social movement that gained visibility in 1993. La Vía Campesina is “an international coalition of peasants, small farmers, farm workers, landless people, rural women and indigenous organizations.”<sup>5</sup> Its membership comprises 149 organizations in 56 countries.<sup>6</sup> La Vía Campesina defines food sovereignty as “the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic food respecting cultural and productive diversity. We have the right to produce our own food in our own territory. Food sovereignty is a precondition to genuine food security.”<sup>7</sup> Food sovereignty is extremely attractive for its holistic model of sustainability which encompasses environment, economic, social, cultural and spiritual elements. Champions of food sovereignty place emphasis on the re-articulation of its principles in different contexts. For indigenous activists, indigenous food sovereignty is heavily intertwined with political sovereignty.

In the Pacific island context, the growing concern over food security has given birth to a mass of literature on the matter. However, these texts reflect what Center for Pacific Islands Studies outgoing Director Terence Wesley-Smith refers to as the “pragmatic rationale” for studying Pacific Islands.<sup>8</sup> The *pragmatic rationale* reflects the need of metropolitan centers to study the Pacific simply because they have to deal with it. The rationale reflects the agendas, priorities, and perspectives of outsiders who assume special

---

<sup>5</sup> La Vía Campesina, *The Right to Produce and the Access to Land. Food Sovereignty: A Future without Hunger*, Rome: 11–17, November.  
<http://www.voiceoftheturtle.org/library/1996%20Declaration%20of%20Food%20Sovereignty.pdf>  
[accessed 2 April 2016] as cited in

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Terence Wesley-Smith, “Rethinking Pacific Islands Studies,” *Pacific Studies* 18, no. 2 (June 1995): 117.

authority to manage the region.

There is thus a need for more nuanced research that explores islander perspectives toward their local food systems and the historical factors that have contributed to existing economic conditions. Islander perspectives shine through in the work of Jagjit Kaur Plahe, Shona Hawkes, and Sunil Ponnampereuma. In their study of food sovereignty in the Pacific, the authors identify three global food regimes to help chart dramatic transformations in the economic history of the islands: the colonial-settler food regime, the postwar food regime, and the corporate food regime.<sup>9</sup> The colonial-settler food regime was characterized by the conversion of Pacific Islands into agricultural commodity exporters for imperial interests. Commodities such as sugar and copra flowed from Pacific Islands to global markets. As land and labor became commodified, “domestic needs and peoples’ traditional ties to the land [were] severed.”<sup>10</sup>

The second global food regime – referred to as the postwar food regime – was characterized by “state intervention and influence in agriculture, both in the developed and developing world.”<sup>11</sup> Government-backed agriculture in the metropolises resulted in food commodity surpluses that reached markets to include various Pacific Islands. Foreign aid poured into Pacific Island countries and economic development planning became more prominent in local government agendas. Historical trade linkages also allowed for market access to Europe by certain African, Pacific, and Caribbean countries.

As with the previous food regime, export continued to trump local needs, facilitating a decline in subsistence agriculture and, ultimately, food dependency. Critics of food security discourse articulate this phenomenon as “food dependency”, ‘dietary colonialism’ or, in the

---

<sup>9</sup> Jagjit Kaur Plahe, Shona Hawkes, and Sunil Ponnampereuma, “The Corporate Food Regime and Food Sovereignty,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2013): 311.

<sup>10</sup> Plahe, Hawkes, and Ponnampereuma, “The Corporate Food Regime and Food Sovereignty”, 313.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 314.

case of Kiribati, ‘gustatory subversion’.<sup>12</sup> Despite such transformations, the independence movements occurring from the 1960s onward allowed Pacific Islanders to regain some autonomy over their own lands. Agency, although limited, was demonstrated in the shaping of island development, trade, and food policies.<sup>13</sup>

The third global food regime stems from the conditions of the former. Pacific Islands became integrated into a global system of agriculture, opening doors for corporate agribusiness in the region.<sup>14</sup> “The new food regime arose through the deliberate and systematic dismantling of its predecessor, a process driven by an aggressive and expansionist neoliberal ethos of “free trade” promulgated by large agribusiness.”<sup>15</sup> Key actors include international finance and development institutions such as the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, agrifood corporations and private philanthropies. Plahe, Hawkes, and Ponnampereuma state that “In the Pacific, the WTO accession packages and discourse are permeated with the neoliberal ideology and agenda, which is reinforced through the web of multilateral institutions acting in synchrony.”<sup>16</sup> Philip McMichael thus argues that food sovereignty is a response to neoliberalism and therefore “a strong feature of the corporate food regime.”<sup>17</sup>

For future research, I hope to situate Guam within this broader history of food regimes and food sovereignty in the Pacific region. Such a comparative analysis, however, must take into account several features that make Guam unique. For one, the island’s colonial

---

<sup>12</sup> David E. Lewis, “Gustatory Subversion and the Evolution of Nutritional Dependence in Kiribati,” *Food and Foodways* 3, no. 1-2 (1998), 79-98 as cited in John Connell, “Food Security in the Island Pacific Is Micronesia as Far Away as Ever?” *Regional Environmental Change* 157 (November 2015) 1299-1311.

<sup>13</sup> Plahe, Hawkes, and Ponnampereuma, “The Corporate Food Regime and Food Sovereignty,” 317.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 317.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 317-218.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 318.

<sup>17</sup> Philip McMichael, “Tensions between National and International Control of the World Food Order: Contours of a New Food Regime,” *Sociological Perspectives* 35, no. 2 (June 1992): 343-365 as cited in Jagjit Kaur Plahe, Shona Hawkes, and Sunil Ponnampereuma, “The Corporate Food Regime and Food Sovereignty,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2013), 309-338.

history which pre-dates that of other islands cautions us to consider the idiosyncrasies of the various colonial regimes Guam was subjected to – the Spanish, American, and Japanese – as well as the imperial interests unique to the periods in which they ruled. Furthermore, unlike other islands such as Hawai’i, Guam did not become a major agricultural commodity exporter with the exception of copra and other products of the coconut. Historically valued for its strategic location, the island offers a unique look at the juncture of militarism and capitalism. A heavily militarized colony of the United States, Guam can further be distinguished by other islands that now operate more autonomously from their former colonizers.

Nevertheless, similar patterns of economic transformation and islander responses can still be identified across the Pacific as demonstrated by Plahe, Hawkes, and Ponnampuruma. The authors highlight La Vía Campesina’s emphasis on *rights* – particularly, the right to food. In an increasingly globalized world, Pacific islanders are reminded of the scarcity of land and resources. Some are reclaiming their right to define and shape their own food systems – banning the importation of certain food items, revisiting trade agreements, calling attention to various local needs, and advocating for culturally-informed government policy and action. The Farmers’ Market campaign is but one of many cases that point to a collective concern over the right to a healthy food system on Guam. For those left unsatisfied with the new facility or the colonial structure under which it operates, the fight continues. Perhaps strength can be pulled from our ancestors who have long demonstrated agency and resilience in the face of economic transformation.



**Figure 2. Farmers' Market facility in Dededo, Guam**

(Photo by *Pacific Daily News*, <https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/2016/09/26/farmers-market-could-open-late-october/91106304/>, September 26, 2016)



## **CHAPTER 1**

### **ENTANGLED HISTORIES: CANONICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GUAM'S PRE-WAR ECONOMY**

Guam is the largest, southernmost island of the Mariana Islands located in the northwest Pacific. The Marianas archipelago is the homeland of the Chamorro people who inhabited the islands roughly 3,600 years before present (ybp).<sup>18</sup> The island of Guam was first colonized in 1668 following the Chamorro-Spanish Wars with the settlement of the first Jesuit mission. The Spanish-American War later ended over two hundred years of Spanish rule and placed the island in the hands of yet another colonial power. Guam, along with Puerto Rico and the Philippines, were ceded to the United States in 1898. U.S. Congress exercised plenary power over the territory and designated the U.S. navy as its administrative force. U.S. naval rule from 1898 to 1941 ensued before being disrupted by Japanese forces during World War II. Japan occupied the island until July 21, 1944 when the U.S. re-invaded.

The U.S. navy regained power after World War II until 1950 when the administration was replaced with a civilian government and Guam's people acquired U.S. citizenship through the Organic Act of Guam signed by President Harry S. Truman. "Organized, unincorporated territory" continues to be the gloss for "U.S. colony", the status of which Guam remains today. Guam's people cannot vote in presidential elections nor can they participate in national elections. The island's elected delegate to U.S. Congress also holds no voting rights in the House and U.S. federal law currently supersedes any legislation enacted by the Government of Guam.

Along with these dramatic political changes that followed World War II, Guam experienced an economic transformation. Several factors facilitated the shift from a dual

---

<sup>18</sup> Miguel G. Vilar, Chim W. Chan, Dana R. Santos, Daniel Lynch, Rita Spathis, Ralph M. Garruto, J. Koji Lum, "The Origins and Genetic Distinctiveness of the Chamorros of the Marianas Islands: An mtDNA Perspective," *American Journal of Human Biology* 25, no. 1 (January/February 2013): 116-122, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/ajhb.22349>.

economic system based on monetary exchange and bartering to a cash-based economy.<sup>19</sup> The island's physical landscape suffered from the bombing of the American reinvasion, forcing some Chamorros to abandon hopes of returning to the farm.<sup>20</sup> Many acquired wage-earning jobs associated with the military build-up which simultaneously required Chamorro lands for national defense purposes and military recreational spaces.<sup>21</sup> Heightened infrastructure projects also facilitated the influx of migrant workers, altering the island's social and cultural demographic. Land condemnation, displacement, heightened militarization, Americanization policies and the legacy of WWII continue to impact Chamorros today and influence their conceptualizations of identity, history, and economy.

As Guam's political and economic relationship with the U.S. continues to be interrogated, a consideration of the past is ever more crucial to help our people navigate through the road ahead. This thesis thus aims to uncover pieces of the pre-war past – what seems to be a distant yet recent episode in Guam history. Chamorro historian Anne Perez Hattori points to how this era is typically looked upon rather nostalgically by historians and Chamorros alike:

Ironically, the prewar period on Guam is not canonically or publicly perceived as an oppressive, onerous time. [Historians and Chamorros] view it as an idyllic period prior to the calamitous Japanese invasion of World War II. In contemporary Chamorro society, the term "Before The War" elicits recollections of security and tranquility with few memories of any specific governor or navy leader. By comparison, the gruesome experiences of World War II and the immediate post-war years still jar the collective memory of the Chamorro people, consequently obscuring the disturbing nature of the pre-war naval administration. Perhaps because the cultural transformations that took place on Guam prior to the War were less dramatic than the transformations that have resulted since then, this period is recollected nostalgically by Chamorro people for cultural reasons, as well.<sup>22</sup>

---

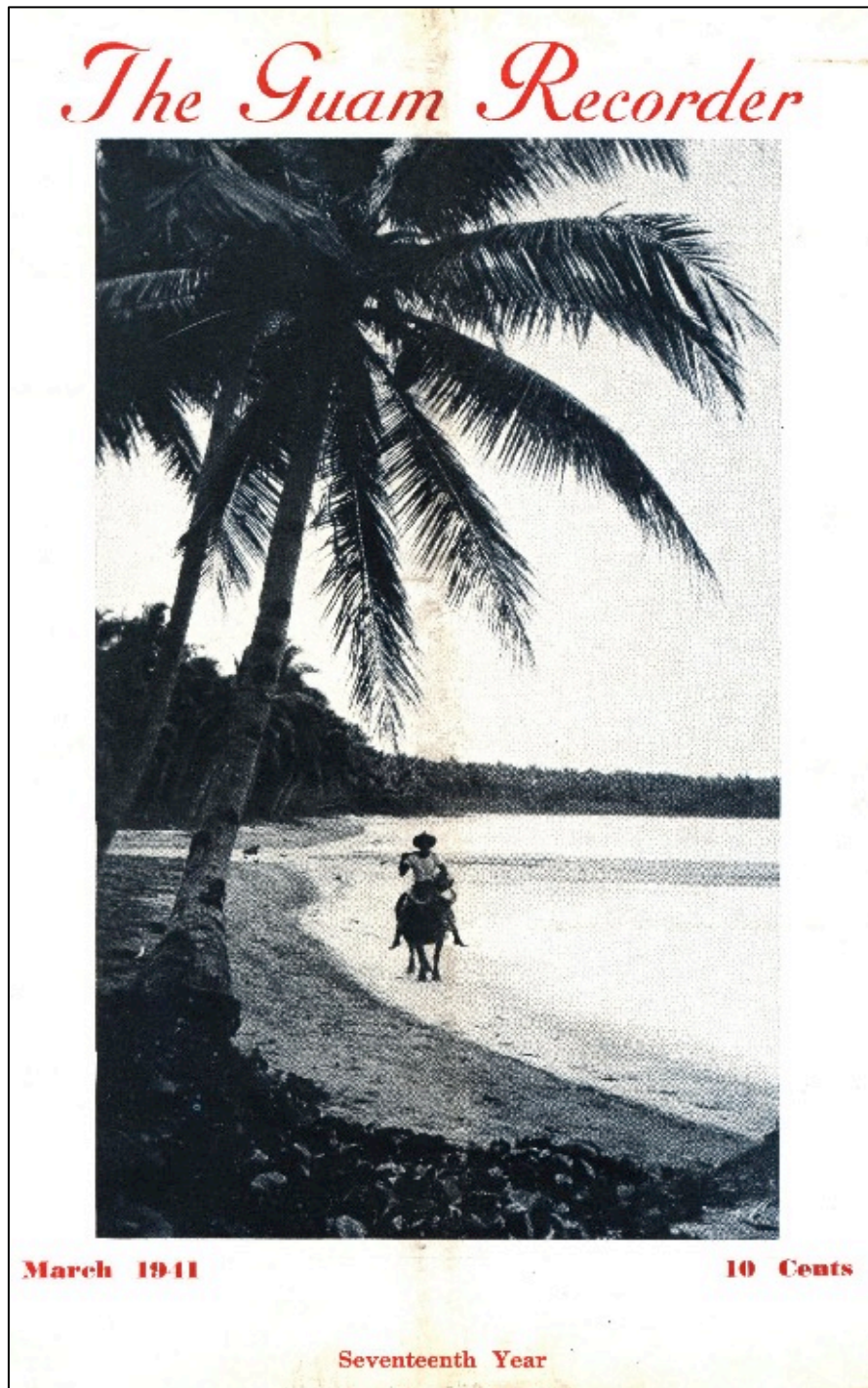
<sup>19</sup> Anthony Leon Guerrero, "The Economic Development of Guam," *Kinalamten Pulitikât: Siñenten I Chamorro/Issues in Guam's Political Development The Chamorro Perspective*, Hale'-ta series (Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 86, 91.

<sup>20</sup> Tony Palomo, *An Island in Agony* (Annandale, VA: T. Palomo, 1984), 248-49.

<sup>21</sup> Anne Perez Hattori, "Guardians of Our Soil: Indigenous Responses to Post-World War II Military Land Appropriation on Guam" in *Farms, Firms, and Runways: Perspectives on U.S. Military Bases in the Western Pacific*, ed. Eve Armentrout Ma (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 2001), 188-189.

<sup>22</sup> Anne Perez Hattori, "Navy Blues: U.S. Naval Rule on Guam and The Rough Road to Assimilation, 1898-1941," *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 5, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 27.

Hattori's words provide caution for those of us attempting to engage in historical narrative reclamation work considering how our memories of the pre-war era hold tremendous implications for the ways in which we perceive our relationships to the ongoing colonial presence.



**Figure 3. Farmer returning to Agat village.** Cover of *The Guam Recorder* 17 (March 1941).

### Theoretical Framework: Re-Making Micronesia

This thesis is a historical analysis of economic development in pre-war Guam. I focus largely on the development of the agricultural industry because it was perceived by colonial officials as the one industry that was accessible to all Chamorros – most having lived a subsistence lifestyle then – and therefore the industry with the greatest potential to transform Guam into a modern economy by western standards. Beyond investigating the nature of colonial agricultural projects, I examine Chamorro resistance to them as well as the complexities of Chamorro agency within them. Ultimately, I am presenting an entangled history that attempts to challenge simplistic notions of a prosperous pre-war agrarian society to the credit of a benevolent American colonial administration.

Other scholars have written about American imperialism in the broader region of “Micronesia”.<sup>23</sup> Noteworthy is David Hanlon’s *Re-Making Micronesia: Discourses Over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1892*. In his text, Hanlon states, “In each of these separate colonial possessions, there would be attempts to remake and re-present Micronesia in the images of its different colonizers, for purposes that had to do with national needs and global rivalries and through means that were essentially violent, exploitative, and racist.”<sup>24</sup> Noting the heavy scholarly attention to political developments in the region, Hanlon instead focuses on economic development as a strategy of domination:

A seemingly more benevolent, well-intentioned program of rule, the promotion of economic development presented a process of change no less disruptive and destructive than other colonial initiatives in its effects upon the peoples, places, and cultures of the area called Micronesia. If successful, the many and varied plans for development would have resulted in a total remaking of Micronesia.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> I put the word “Micronesia” in quotation marks to point to its ambivalence. Like David Hanlon, I believe “Micronesia” to be a nonentity in which diversity among islands exists with a certain degree of commonality and shared identity. I use it here not to perpetuate conventional notions of the island peoples and cultures it encompasses, but because it is a recognizable term commonly used to refer to the region.

<sup>24</sup> David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1998), 2.

<sup>25</sup> Hanlon, 3.

For its investigation of economic development in Micronesia, I have chosen Hanlon's work as my theoretical framework. Although the author's research focuses on a temporal scope and entity different from that of mine – the Trust Territories of the Pacific following WWII – his work reveals intersections between Guam and other islands of "Micronesia" that either were or still are subjects of U.S. empire. These intersections include hegemonic discourses of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the types of development projects implemented to Americanize various "Micronesian" islander groups. Like the agents of Hanlon's historical narrative, I am highlighting Chamorro actors as they experienced American colonial rule for the first time. There are thus commonalities in terms of islander responses to such development that are worthy of consideration for this project as well as other local and regional analyses.

*Benevolent Assimilation: American Ideology in the Pre-War Period*

Raymond Williams defines ideology as "'an articulated system of meanings, values and beliefs' that can be abstracted to serve as a worldview for any social group."<sup>26</sup> Hanlon states that dominant beliefs in racial hierarchy and white American superiority worked to "justify America's position of global primacy and destructive consequences of that exercise of power on others."<sup>27</sup> In his "Instructions for the Military Commander of the Island of Guam," President William McKinley instructed military officers to "win the confidence, respect and affection of the inhabitants of the Island of Guam...by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation."<sup>28</sup>

In the canonical narrative, the U.S. navy is portrayed as a paternal figure and Chamorros, as passive and grateful recipients of its gift of development.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, the

---

<sup>26</sup> Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, (Oxford Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1977), 109. as cited in David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 4.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> William McKinley and John D. Long, "Instructions for the Military Commander of the Island of Guam, Ladrones, Pacific Ocean," 12 January 1899. In *Annual Report of the Naval Government of Guam*, 1914: 2.

<sup>29</sup> Hattori, 17.

navy encouraged incoming personnel to “leave their mark” and assist the government in “speeding the day when in thoughts, language and ideals the people of this lovely island are thoroughly Americanized and may truly enjoy the full benefits of an American form of government.”<sup>30</sup> Serving as productive role models to the Chamorro people was thus considered the inherent duty of all American personnel.

Hanlon’s Analysis: “Economics as Culture”

Reflecting on the work of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Marshall Sahlins, Hanlon states that what we are dealing with in such histories of Micronesia is more than a matter of dollars and cents and having to do with “culture”.<sup>31</sup> He states that it is “about basic changes in the established ways of doing things, about a major transformation in people’s relationships with their environment and with each other. It [is] about being made to become something else and other.”<sup>32</sup> In early twentieth century Guam, colonial rhetoric implied that the navy had inherited an economy-less population or a primitive economy that therefore needed to be advanced through the Americanization process. Previous efforts to expose Chamorros to western economic practices during the Spanish colonial administration were regarded as misguided attempts.<sup>33</sup>

Chamorro economic practices would have been regarded as “savage commerce” or “the silent trade”, which scholars like Nicholas Thomas have articulated in other Pacific island contexts.<sup>34</sup> Thomas points to how a Sir James Frazer reduced such transactions to “exchanges of utilitarian value”.<sup>35</sup> The absence of “true money” was seen as a primitive condition and objects assumed to have fixed value were identified as early forms of money.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Jack Flynn, “Over the Editorial Desk,” *Guam Recorder* 12, no. 8, November 1935, 202.

<sup>31</sup> Hanlon, 5.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>33</sup> See the work of Chamorro scholars Robert Underwood and Penelope Bordallo Hofschneider.

<sup>34</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 11-12.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

In the case of pre-war Guam, this attitude was expressed in the words of Admiral Seaton Schroeder when he remarked, “Every encouragement is to be given... so that it may be possible for [Chamorros] to *practice economy*.”<sup>37</sup>

### Development as Discourse<sup>38</sup>

To facilitate economic growth, the U.S. navy on Guam implemented a series of projects articulated as “improvement” projects, otherwise known as “development” projects.

Here, I borrow Nicholas Thomas’s definition of colonial projects:

Project may be a deceptive simple word, but it has theoretical implications that differ significantly from the terms of reference commonly employed in historical, sociological or anthropological inquiry. It is a socially transformative endeavor that is localized, politicized, and partial, yet also engendered by longer historical developments and ways of narrating them...in colonial circumstances the interest in creating something new, on the part of settlers or a colonized population or both, is widespread...<sup>39</sup>

Hanlon states that “*development* became a conceptualizing tool for measuring native peoples against the standards of Western civilization. By the early decades of the twentieth century, the word ‘development’ was most often employed to refer to the productive capabilities of a colonized population that could be employed in the establishment of a modern market economy.”<sup>40</sup>

Nicholas Thomas echoes Hanlon’s statements regarding modernity while reflecting on the nature of British colonialism in Fiji:

The British colonizing effort in Fiji was, despite the occasional crudeness of its intrusions, and what strikes us now as the absurdity of its self-righteous paternalism, a modern and subtle project that proceeded through social engineering rather than violent repression, and appeared essentially as an operation of welfare rather than conquest. ‘Implicit in the technologies of governmentality was the notion that it was possible to transform society so that both force and politics became unnecessary.’<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Schroeder, Seaton, “Admiral Seaton Schroeder’s Reminiscences of his Tour of Duty as Governor of Guam,” *The Guam Recorder* (1926).

<sup>38</sup> This section pulls largely from Hanlon’s text cited here. Hanlon refers to “development” as a strategy of domination.

<sup>39</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 105.

<sup>40</sup> Hanlon, 9.

<sup>41</sup> Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture*, 124.

Thomas expands on the British segregationist assumption which deemed native society as a distinct species that might be “bettered and advanced”, but would not be absorbed in a European model. This was made possible by the 19<sup>th</sup> century because Christian missionaries had done some of the groundwork for the colonial state by converting the bulk of the population to Christianity:

These conditions enabled the colonizing project to take the form of ‘improvement’ or constructive government rather than a destructive invasion: the eradication of savagery became merely a matter of policing its traces – in occasional heathen revivals – while, at the most general level, administration resembled the treatment of backward sectors of metropolitan society, which were domesticated and reformed.<sup>42</sup>

Similarly, despite the expressed burden of inheriting a degenerate population from the Spanish, the American colonial administration acknowledged the groundwork laid by their predecessor. Already devout Catholics, Chamorros just needed proper guidance to “practice economy” and assimilate into American culture.

It is not my intention to suggest a firm binary between Chamorro and western economic systems, but to instead echo Nicholas Thomas’ employment of the concept of *entanglements* to refer to the complex economic transactions between foreigners and indigenous peoples:

the problem of such unitary conceptions of indigenous economies is that they suppress the entanglement with other systems such as capitalist trade. In some areas, entanglement with colonizing agents of various kinds has gone on for hundreds of years and has prompted a distinctive indigenous historical consciousness in which local customs and solidarity are explicitly contrasted with the inequality characteristic of relations with outsiders.<sup>43</sup>

Reflecting specifically on the interactions between American colonial officials and the islanders who came to be labeled as “Micronesians”, Hanlon likewise calls attention to the “rich, deeply entangled history” of the region.<sup>44</sup> Like Hanlon, I aim to lift “the blanket of

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 125

<sup>43</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 4.

<sup>44</sup> Hanlon, 3.



American domination” and investigate local responses to development to “examine what it actually entailed, and to chart some of the ways in which it was appropriated and applied – often in multiple, complex, layered, and even conflicting ways – by local groups of island people.”<sup>45</sup>

Through case studies of colonial agricultural projects, I aim to demonstrate the entanglement between the two dominant economic systems that existed in pre-WWII Guam. While such projects gradually altered Chamorro livelihoods, *kustumbren Chamorro* (also spelled *custumbren Chamorro*) subsequently obstructed the Navy’s economic agenda. Chamorro scholar Laura Souder states that the early naval period is now generally recalled as the time when “Chamorro-Spanish ways amalgamated with American ways to form a pool of syncretic cultural traits which present-day Chamorros call traditional Chamorro culture or *custumbren Chamorro*”.<sup>46</sup> Echoing Souder’s comments on Chamorro cultural hybridity, Michael Clement, Jr. states

In Guam, the power to maintain an autonomous identity was rooted not in the formal institutions that were officially recognized and imposed by the colonial government but in the extended family system that evolved out of pre-colonial matrilineal clans. Through perpetuating values distinct from the colonial culture, Chamorros maintained indigenous continuities in aspects of life where the colonial government had little reach such as the home and the farm, but also in the imposed rituals of the Catholic Church.<sup>47</sup>

I move to extend the assertion that indigenous cultural continuities also permeated colonial projects to be expanded upon in the following chapters. Worthy of consideration at this point is the work of Chamorro scholar Robert Underwood who provides an overview of the core values and practices associated with *kustumbren Chamorro*:

---

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>46</sup> The term *kostumbren Chamorro* was first documented by the anthropologist Alexander Spoehr in 1954. Laura Thompson, *Guam and Its People with a Village Journal by Jesus C. Barcinas* (New York 1947) and Laura Marie Torres Souder, *Daughters of the Island: Contemporary Chamorro Women organizers on Guam* (Lanham and Mangilao 1992).

<sup>47</sup> Michael Richard Clement. “Kustumbre, Modernity and Resistance The Subaltern Narrative in Chamorro Language Music” (PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2011), 14-15.

1. *Familia*. Family authority and ties are pre-eminent in all social relationships, even to the point that “family takes precedent over law.”
2. *Interdependence*. “Interdependence is more important than personal independence.” A key element of this system are gifts of *chenchule*’ and *ika*, which are contributions in the form of goods, services or more frequently today, cash, provided to the host of a festive event. Such events are often organized around Catholic sacraments such as weddings, funerals and baptisms, but the concept of *inafa’maolek* (doing what’s good for one another) applies to many types of community activities and personal interactions.
3. Respect for social position and social situation. People should be treated with the respect due to their position in life. Most important is respect for old age. Respect is shown to elders, greeting them by *manninge*, which means to sniff the hand.
4. Respect for the natural environment. It is believed that the jungle and the ocean have a power that man cannot overcome. Part of this respect is rooted in the belief that the jungles are inhabited by spirits, known as *taotao mo’na* or *aniti*.
5. *Mamahlahao*, “a kind of intuitive measure which tells you when your behavior is proper and decent.” In many ways the concept of *mamahlahao* along with *familia* tie the other values together, because if one does not behave properly or honor obligations, he or she is viewed as *taimamahlahao* (having no shame) and this reflects not just on the individual but the entire family.<sup>48</sup>

As we shall see, eradicating these values and practices through processes of Americanization proved far more difficult than the naval government had assumed.

### *A New Age, A New Stage*

This thesis is largely a textual analysis of early twentieth century colonial archives pertaining to economic development on Guam. The primary sources investigated include publications from the navy government’s main print media outlets at the time, *The Guam Recorder* and the *Guam Newsletter*. In addition to reports on the day’s development projects, these materials offer snapshots of pre-war social activities, political developments, etc. I thus rely on these archives to highlight colonial discourses and provide glimpses of Guam’s prewar economic, political, and socio-cultural landscape. Wherever broader context is needed, I reference sources from the federal Department of Agriculture to include station

---

<sup>48</sup> Robert Underwood, “Hispanicization as a Socio-historical Process on Guam.” (Unpublished manuscript prepared for University of Guam, Guam History Courses, 1978, 16-17.

reports and circulars from other U.S. territories as well.

Other sources were sought in hopes of enhancing the quality of this project. Where appropriate, I include oral accounts of Chamorro elders who experienced firsthand the navy's projects and policies. Participants born during or after World War II recall the stories of their elders, which I honor in this narrative as well. Such interviews are precious and limited considering many of the pre-war generation have passed. I thus incorporate interview content from previous projects to include those of my great-grandmother, Francisca Quintanilla Franquez, former Piti Mayor Ben Gumataotao, Inarajan farmer Ben Meno, and former Mangilao Mayor Nito Blas. Franquez and Gumataotao add color to this thesis through their recollection of pre-war institutions while Meno and Blas re-iterate the experiences of their elders involved in spaces like the Farmers' Market. This thesis thus hopes to enhance the voices of the few who participated in this research project as well as give voice to other Chamorro agents of the pre-war generation whose experiences I only know of having read colonial archives.

In describing his analytical approach to missionary texts pertaining to Maori society, Tony Ballantyne states that reading against the grain allows the "historian to break free from a narrow focus on cross-cultural representation...which are typically understood to be in a position of cultural dominance over indigenous populations. Most important, when historians read Maori as active shapers of both missionary texts and real social formations, they cannot write Maori themselves out of the history of these imperial entanglements or simple reduce them to being objects of Western discourse."<sup>49</sup> Like Ballantyne, I aim to reveal the "porousness" of colonial archives and contest them in ways that reveal Chamorro resistance in pre-war Guam.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Maori, and the Question of the Body* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 14.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

Pacific scholars like the late Epeli Hau'ofa remind us of how colonialism has marginalized our histories and how it is our responsibility to “bring to the center stage, as main players, our own peoples and institutions.”<sup>51</sup> On Guam, more and more scholars are beginning to challenge notions of American benevolent assimilation through critical analyses of colonial education<sup>52</sup>, colonial healthcare and sanitation policies<sup>53</sup>, and pre-war gendered occupations<sup>54</sup>, to mention a few. This thesis thus hopes to contribute to the existing collection of Chamorro counter-narratives of American colonial rule on Guam through a critical analysis of development projects couched as examples of American benevolence.

With the U.S. military presence on the island, it is ever more crucial that Guam scholars continue to surface historical narratives that can be weaponized to combat injustices in the present and future. As Hau'ofa once wrote, the past “has no existence without reference to the present. How one reconstructs the past, as history or whatever, is a political act – a choice from valid alternatives made for particular purposes... the prevailing historiography is hegemonic.”<sup>55</sup> By unpacking development projects, I hope to shed light on the powerful forces at play in Guam's pre-war society. This not only included colonial authorities, but Chamorro agents resisting and manipulating project operations.

---

<sup>51</sup> Epeli Hau'ofa, “Pasts to Remember,” *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 64-65.

<sup>52</sup> See Robert Underwood's “American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam”.

<sup>53</sup> See Anne Perez Hattori's *Colonial Dis-Ease: U.S. Navy Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941*.

<sup>54</sup> See James Perez Viernes's “Negotiating Manhood: Chamorro Masculinities and U.S. Military Colonialism in Guam, 1898-1941.”

<sup>55</sup> Hau'ofa, 63.

## CHAPTER 2

### RE-MAKING GUAM: U.S. COLONIAL ATTEMPTS TO TRANSFORM GUAM'S ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE

On Friday, December 22, 1900, a wise woman approached an American naturalist making his rounds in the village. She was frustrated over the fact that her pigs had been taken to the pound after having escaped her property and invading her neighbor's garden. She told the American that she had been very careful about keeping them at home since the governor published his order regarding the containment of livestock two weeks prior. Today, however, she had to tend to a sick friend and left each of the pigs tied to a bed post. Somehow, they had gotten loose! The wise woman hoped the owner of the property would forgive her or she'd have to pay a fine. She told the American that she had no money. Times had changed since the Spanish administration was supplanted. Now, even poor chickens were restricted from moving about! The American explained to her that "it was very hard on her neighbors to work in their gardens and to have them scratched up by other people's chickens or ruined by other people's animals."<sup>56</sup> In dramatic fashion, the woman cried, provoking the official to say, "Here Señora, the fine must be paid, but, if you will let me, I will give you the money with which to pay it." The wise woman gladly accepted the American's half peso and skipped away to retrieve her pigs.<sup>57</sup>

The story above is a re-interpretation of a scene between an individual described as a "poor", "old woman" and an American naturalist by the name of William E. Safford. For the most part, every description aligns with what is written in the report in which I was introduced to her – the main difference being that, in this story, she was not just another native supposedly buying into the notion that the naval government's laws were not "to

---

<sup>56</sup> William E. Safford, "A Year on the Island of Guam An Account of the First American Administration Extracts from the Note-Book of a Naturalist on the Island of Guam Part XXI," *The Guam Recorder* 11, no. 12 (March 1935): 327-328.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

oppress but to benefit the people of Guam.”<sup>58</sup> Who is to say that her claim to tying up the pigs was only a cover to win over the American’s sympathy? She was wise to mention the governor’s order and could’ve been spared from the lecture regarding the consequences of wandering livestock. Acknowledgment of naval policies, however, does not necessarily translate to full compliance. Who is to say that this wasn’t an act of what James Scott refers to as false public deference or “on stage” behavior?<sup>59</sup> He states, “to the extent that the deference expressed in public, power-laden situations is negated in the comparative safety of offstage privacy, we can speak unambiguously of false deference.”<sup>60</sup> Unlike Safford, however, I can only assume what the woman was truly thinking.

One thing is certain. For the few possessions she had – like those pesky pigs – she’d do everything in her power to keep them. The wise woman’s story is similar to that of other Chamorro agents of her time who had to adjust to and work around



**Figure 4. Cartoon in the *Guam News Letter*, July 1912.** Columbia Journalism Review. Accessed July 22, 2018. <https://www.cjr.org/criticism/guam-media-military.php>

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 23.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

administrative demands for immediate “improvements”. Chamorro scholar Robert Underwood states that the navy brought to the island a “reforming zeal” and thus intended on transforming various aspects of Chamorro society.<sup>61</sup> While ensuring the containment of animals through proper fencing might appear to be a minor request by the naval government, it must be situated within the broader context of development in this particular colonial context.

Collin D. Moore highlights some developmental shifts in the United States in the early twentieth century. With the Spanish-American War over, state bureaucrats worked to justify the acquisition of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines archipelago. As the rising global power, America was said to have acquired new “international responsibilities”.<sup>62</sup> For the bureaucrats charged with managing the territories, empire provided an “opportunity to demonstrate to the world the genius of American progress.”<sup>63</sup> However, overseas expansion was soon opposed by members of Congress who questioned whether U.S. constitutionality applied to the newly-acquired lands and peoples. As for the American public, increasing racial tensions and genuine fear over economic competition with the colonies provided grounds for opposition.

Moore emphasizes how Progressive politics particularly influenced governance toward the colonies. Fed up with corruption and spoils politics that characterized the nineteenth century, “technocratic reformers” found in colonies an avenue to apply modern theories of Progressive governance.<sup>64</sup> These officials “brought with them a belief in the transformative power of science, infrastructure, and rational administration” and snatched the

---

<sup>61</sup> Robert Underwood, “American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam” (PhD diss., University of Southern Carolina, 1987), 118.

<sup>62</sup> Colin D. Moore, *American Imperialism and the State, 1893-1921* (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 2.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

opportunity “to operate outside the normal constraints of democratic politics.”<sup>65</sup> At a time when the transformative power of the state was being questioned at home, imperialists officials took an ambitious approach to administering the colonies:

...American colonial administrators constructed powerful and activist colonial regimes to engage in social engineering projects that often exceeded those attempted by the domestic state. They built highways and railroads. They established agriculture experiment stations and regulated narcotics. Civil service rules were in place from the earliest days of colonial administration. As a result of the colonial state’s extensive education programs, English became the *lingua franca* of the Philippines. Model prisons were built according to contemporary theories of criminology, and extensive public health investments reduced tropical diseases...”<sup>66</sup>

Moore’s main argument was that a partnership between progressive executive officials and private financiers eventually developed, facilitating political maneuvering around Congress and thus more autonomous action by pro-imperial bureaucrats and their dispatched agents.

On Guam, the progressive approach called to make the island “economically self-sustaining and less reliant on federal funds designated for military and administrative operations.”<sup>67</sup> Chamorro economist Anthony Leon Guerrero states that “any development that was encouraged (or even allowed) was designed to provision ships calling at Apra Harbor and to minimize the costs to the U.S. government of administering the colony.”<sup>68</sup> Like their predecessors, U.S. colonial officials believed that the development of one particular industry could potentially emancipate the island from economic stagnation:

Agriculture is and will probably always remain the principal industry in Guam...The island of Guam, with its fertile uplands, lush valley and verdant forest offers an ideal place for agricultural endeavor. It is disheartening to observe large areas of arable land that now lie neglected or fallow.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>67</sup> Anthony Leon Guerrero, “The Economic Development of Guam,” *Kinalamten Pulitikåt: Siñenten I Chamorro/Issues in Guam’s Political Development the Chamorro Perspective*, Hale’-ta series (Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 86.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> “Back to the Farm,” *The Guam Recorder* 11, no. 127 (October 1934): 160.



This imagery of Guam's apparently untapped physical landscape was constantly reproduced in official sources to support the argument for a cultural cleanse of the people who inhabited the island. Anthropologist Nicholas Thomas notes the colonial tendency "to fetishize views, scenes, and descriptions and accounts" which immediately made them subject to the colonial gaze and created a peculiar sense of power over colonized people.<sup>70</sup> To a larger extent, it was believed that the general "advancement of the Chamorro people" could be achieved only with the guidance of a "sane and economical government".<sup>71</sup> The navy made clear its administrative approach to Guam when it stated that "government is a business".<sup>72</sup>

This chapter intends to set the stage for those to follow, providing an overview of some of the naval government's attempts to assert its economic agenda through the alteration of the existing physical and cultural landscape. I will highlight Chamorro beliefs, customs and practices – identified as "blemishes" to society by American colonial officials – that stood in the way of the navy's development projects. Through the inclusion of Chamorro accounts, I aim to shed light on the complexities of indigenous agency within these projects. To be demonstrated is the entanglement of western capitalism and *kustumbren Chamorro* as the naval government attempted to "re-make" Guam into an economy of its liking.

### Crown Lands, Chamorro Hands

Among the first orders of business following the change in colonial administration was to address the existing land tenure system and tax system. Under the Spanish, Guam was ruled by both the Church and the state-ecclesiastical law and the Spanish civil and criminal code of 1680 called the Laws of the Indies.<sup>73</sup> What facilitated the redistribution of land was

---

<sup>70</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 12.

<sup>71</sup> Jack Flynn, "Over the Editorial Desk," *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 8 (November 1935): 202.

<sup>72</sup> "What Guam Needs," *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 12 (March 1932): 474.

<sup>73</sup> Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 74.

the Jesuit policy known as *reduccion*.<sup>74</sup> This involved the re-organization of villages centered around churches and government facilities. Not only was this new layout intended to help complete the conversion process and ease colonial surveillance, but to also facilitate cultivation to supply passing galleons with food.<sup>75</sup>

Unlike other Spanish colonies, the Marianas were considered to be resource poor. Thus, the archipelago did not attract Spanish settlers who were normally awarded land grants in Spain's conquered lands to establish their plantations.<sup>76</sup> The absence of this *encomienda* system thus prevented massive land alienation. After the Spanish conquest in the seventeenth century, some parcels of land were distributed among Spanish government officials and soldiers. Property was also given to the *principalia*, descendants of the Chamorro nobility or *chamorri* families.<sup>77</sup> From the *principalia*, emerged a *manak'kilo* ("high people") class of 12 powerful families.<sup>78</sup> They owned the largest tracks of their ancestral land and donated substantial amounts to the Catholic Church. They intermarried with Spanish officials, lived in the capital (Hagatña), and distanced themselves from the *mannak'papa* ("low people"):

Many ordinary Chamorros never owned property under the Spaniards. These landless *manak'papa* leased or worked as hired laborers the lands of the *principalia* or the crown ranches. *Manak'papa* who leased land, or who managed to retain their ancestral properties, worked on small ranch farms called *lanchos*, where families raised pigs, chickens, cattle, fruit trees, and some crops on a subsistence level and for barter.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, Chamorros were able to retain much of their ancestral land, however, it was now owned by the few. "Spanish male primogeniture inheritance replaced the traditional

---

<sup>74</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 73.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 71.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 74-75.

<sup>78</sup> Guampedia, "Mannakhilo' and Mannakpapa'." Last modified July 3, 2014.

<http://www.guampedia.com/mannakhilo%E2%80%99-and-mannakpapa%E2%80%99/> Accessed May 18, 2017.

<sup>79</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 74-75.

Chamorro matrilineal system... Control of land, however, remained communal for families through the concept of ‘our land’ instead of ‘my land’.”<sup>80</sup>

Under the Laws of the Indies, Chamorros were exempt from paying taxes, tribute, or church tithes. Instead, they were required to provide weekly labor on the *estancias*, large ranches on crown lands throughout the villages (Pågo, Agat, Agana, Merizo, Umatac, Pago and Inarajan). This was known as *polo*, “a local variation of the *repartimiento*, the provisional allotment of indio laborers to Spanish landowners, which reinforced peonage”.<sup>81</sup> Projects on crown lands were supervised by *alcaldes*, who managed operations at the village district level and were of either Spanish or mestizo blood.

### “Land Rich, Dollar Poor”

Article VIII of the Treaty of Paris signed in 1898 transferred all crown lands and immovable property to the U.S. naval administration.<sup>82</sup> However, many Chamorros remained landless due to the previous system which operated based on social and racial hierarchy. Consequently, in 1898, the island’s first U.S. naval governor, Richard P. Leary, issued General Order No. 7 intended to give land to landless Chamorros. The order, however, imposed strict regulations to ensure that the distributed lands were to be made productive:

If the land is not cleared at the expiration of the time fixed when the grant was made by the person receiving the grant it will be considered vagrant unless he prove that he was prevent from accomplishing the work by some good cause.<sup>83</sup>

Later, in 1900, Governor Leary issued General Order No. 10<sup>84</sup> which abolished the Spanish system of taxation and instilled a new land tax to be levied, collected, and paid to the government according to the following classification:

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>83</sup> “Richard P. Leary General Order Nos. 1-21,” *Guampedia*, last modified September 8, 2015, <http://www.guampedia.com/leary-general-orders/>, accessed May 8, 2017.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

CLASS I: Lands within the limits of the towns and villages, comprising the yards surrounding the dwelling houses, or land suitable for erecting dwellings within the said limits shall be taxed at the annual rate of four *pesos* (Mexican) per hectare.

CLASS II: Stretches of low land along the coast suitable for raising coconuts; low fertile land suitable for raising cacao or coffee; low marshy land susceptible of irrigation and suitable for raising rice or sugar, and islands lying near the coast, shall be taxed at the annual rate of 50 cents (Mexican) per hectare.

CLASS III: Virgin forestland, with rich soil, requiring clearing, and suitable for agricultural purposes or for pasture, shall be taxed at the annual rate of 30 cents (Mexican) per hectare.

CLASS IV: Land on the mesa or uplands, not susceptible of irrigation nor within easy reach of water for stock, and suitable for tobacco and sweet potatoes or corn, shall be taxed at the annual rate of 15 cents (Mexican) per hectare.

CLASS V: Marshlands not suitable for the cultivation of rice or sugar shall be taxed at the annual rate of 10 cents (Mexican) per hectare.

CLASS VI: Sabana land with soil so thin as to permit nothing but sword grass and iron wood to grow upon it, shall be taxed at the annual rate of 5 cents (Mexican) per hectare.<sup>85</sup>

The land tax was to be paid semi-annually and certificates of payment would be issued. Proof of ownership had to be presented before one was to register a title to land or transfer any portion of it.<sup>86</sup> In requiring landowner identification, land taxes worked to fix property lines for administrative convenience as well as set the stage for land alienation.

In February 3, 1900, Leary issued General Order No.15, stating, "All owners or claimants of land are hereby warned that in order that their ownership be recognized they must acquire legal titles to the said land and have it registered according to law in the Office of the Registrar of Lands in Agana before May 15, 1900."<sup>87</sup> Leary's right hand, Lt. William E. Safford, also implemented a new system of surveying and registration based on the former administration's records.<sup>88</sup> From this system, he would grant over 1,000 land certificates to Chamorros.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 112.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

Governor Seaton Schroeder (1901-1903) also distributed free grants for unclaimed land as a part of the Navy's back-to-the-farm movement.<sup>90</sup> Consequently, a number of ordinary Chamorro families obtained land for the first time in 1902.<sup>91</sup> In 1903, Governor William Elbridge Sewell (1903-1904) also "instituted a new land tax to replace the old Spanish tax of 1% of assessed value. The new tax varied with the type of property and location but was higher in any case than 1%."<sup>92</sup> The problem was that Chamorros were "land rich but dollar poor", and therefore had difficulty paying for this low property tax.<sup>93</sup> Foreclosures for delinquent taxes inevitably led the naval government to acquire more land.<sup>94</sup>

The result of this new tax system was the slow alienation of the *manak'kilo*, who owned the largest tracks under the previous administration.<sup>95</sup> Some Japanese migrants began to buy the choicest croplands from Chamorros, which were taxed the highest.<sup>96</sup> The government mainly grew suspicious of Japanese merchants who had been making their way into Micronesia.<sup>97</sup> Some set up shop and sold Japanese products on credit. For those Chamorros who could not afford to pay their debt, land was given instead. Consequently, the navy made Guam land inaccessible to aliens, claiming their duty to oversee the protection of native lands. Governor Dorn, for example, prohibited the purchasing and leasing of Guam land for periods longer than five years.<sup>98</sup> American citizens, on the other hand, were permitted to lease land on the island for up to fifty years. At one point, the Japanese

---

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 126

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 130.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 131.

Nan'yocho Saipan Branch and Nan-yo Kohatsu tried to lease southern Guam from the US naval governors in the 1930s, but this request was refused.<sup>99</sup>

Censuses and surveys were other instruments used to implement the new land and tax systems. Governor Schroeder (1901-1903) conducted the first American census in August 1901.<sup>100</sup> From 1901-1902, he enlisted the assistance of naval civil engineer Leonard M. Cox to conduct the first American topographical survey of Guam because the precise sizes and locations of crown parcels were not clear when the Americans inherited them.<sup>101</sup> Cox as later employed by Governor Dyer, producing the following data:

Crown property was initially estimated... to total about 105 square miles, or 67,000 acres (27,196 hectares), nearly half the total island and offshore islet land area of 214 square miles. Later estimates placed crown lands at about half Cox's figures, that is about 26,000 acres (14,581 hectares), or about one-quarter of the island.<sup>102</sup>

Attempts to make topographic and hydrographic maps of the island occurred in the following years.<sup>103</sup>

In 1905, another attempt was made to provide a detailed cadastral survey of the island and its waters by the US Coast and Geodetic Survey Bureau. By 1915, Governor William J. Maxwell complained that land ownership "was the source of many crimes and scandals, family feuds, and much protracted litigation... Questionable tax assessments, poor land management, massive court litigation, and huge real estate swindles would occur in the decades ahead as consequences of inadequate cadastral information."<sup>104</sup> By 1941, federal and naval government-owned land amounted to 19,431 hectares – over one third of the island. This was a 30 percent increase in 40 years.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Wakako Higuchi, *Japanese Administration of Guam, 1941-1944* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2013), 91-92.

<sup>100</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 125.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>105</sup> Wakako Higuchi, "The Japanisation Policy for the Chamorros of Guam, 1941-1944," *The Journal of Pacific History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 84.

The implementation of the new land and tax systems thus marked a new phase in which Chamorro lands were transformed by a colonial power. Solomon Islands scholar Tarcicius Kabutaulaka notes how such strategies were characteristic of colonial governments which used instruments such as censuses, surveys, and land recordation and registration methods for acquiring more land. Bernard Cohn, author of *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*, refers to surveys, census, museology, historiography, observation, travel, enumeration, and surveillance as "investigative modalities."<sup>106</sup> Taking a historical anthropological approach to analyzing British colonialism in India, Cohn states that knowledge is essentially what colonialism is all about:

An investigative modality includes the definition of a body of information that is needed, the procedures by which appropriate knowledge is gathered, its ordering and classification, and then how it is transformed into usable forms such as published reports, etc.”

As in India, colonial officials in pre-war Guam would inevitably publish extracted information about Guam’s physical and cultural landscape to be used for ongoing and future colonial projects.

### *The Road to Improvement*

Imagine living in a village intersected with gravel trails and muddy paths one morning and waking up to a new road project the next.<sup>107</sup> For every newly-paved or constructed road, the price of the land a mile back on each side would increase and therefore affect the appraisals of the adjacent properties owned by Chamorros “because of the transportation service which [would then be] provided”.<sup>108</sup> If you happened to be a landowner living in

---

<sup>106</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 5.

<sup>107</sup> “Barrigada News Notes,” *The Guam Recorder* 3, no. 2 (May 1926): 43.

<sup>108</sup> “Land Owners Benefited,” *The Guam Recorder* (October 1929): 124-125.

proximity to said road, you would then be expected to “pay a greater proportion for the upkeep of the roads than those who [did] not benefit to the same degree.”<sup>109</sup>

For many residents of the pre-war era, unwelcomed development was part of the reality of living under the U.S. naval administration. Despite providing greater accessibility into coastal and inland villages and more convenient mobility, new roads came with a heavy cost for the average taxpayer. However, through the lens of the naval government, heightened infrastructure was believed to help stimulate commercialization and economic growth in general:

The combination of automobiles and good roads have put more money in the pockets, or at least should have, of the owners of farm land than all the crops they ever raided. Good roads have also added a larger percentage to the value of the crops grown by all the farmers, due to the convenience of moving the crops to a market.<sup>110</sup>

The navy also demanded a lengthy list of “necessary improvements” to Chamorro homes and properties that required much time and resources. New buildings and renovations had to be authorized through permits obtained through the Board of Appraisalment responsible for making reappraisals of properties for taxation purposes.<sup>111</sup> For the great majority of residents who farmed, paying increased taxes for these “necessary improvements” on top of the taxes set for their lands under cultivation was challenging enough. While the naval government believed that tax increases would “force the people to improve their land to meet extra taxation”<sup>112</sup>, tax increases actually worked against it.

In October of 1929, an article in *The Guam Recorder* addressed how even small increases to taxes negatively affected Chamorro families:

The fear of making improvements to land or buildings that will cause and increase in taxation, and the thought that through sickness, the death of the head of the family, or

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>111</sup> “Why Not More Improvements?” *The Guam Recorder* 6, no. 7 (October 1929):124.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.



other causes, this obligation cannot be met, with the result that the land or their home will be lost to them is one of the main causes for the lack of improvements.<sup>113</sup>

The article also addressed the correlation between tax increases and lack of “improvements” toward agriculture specifically, stating,

Increased taxes means more labor to satisfy the tax collector, and why spend your whole life in unnecessary extra labor, when your needs of life are already supplied, and this extra labor only means that the government will have another excuse to levy more and more taxes upon you each year. This is the uppermost thought in the mind of the average tax payer of Guam, and it is the main reason for the lack of improvements that would mean more land under cultivation, more products for local consumption as well as increased exports, and much more modern improvements in farm and town dwellings.<sup>114</sup>

Clearly, the indirect ramifications of the new tax laws were ignored.

More importantly, the article highlights the value of land to Chamorro families whether small or large in size. Chamorro refusal to meet the navy’s “improvement” demands speaks to the kind of resistance James Scott refers to as “everyday acts of resistance”.<sup>115</sup> In his *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Scott states that existing scholarship tends to over romanticize organized peasant movements when in reality peasant rebellions and revolutions are far and few.<sup>116</sup> This distracts us from understanding ordinary weapons of resistance that include foot dragging, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, what distinguishes everyday resistance from other forms of resistance is its “implicit disavowal of public and symbolic goals. Where institutionalized politics is formal, overt, concerned with systemic, de jure change, everyday resistance is informal, often covert, and concerned largely with immediate, de facto gains.”<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 29.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 33.

I thus approach further analysis of Chamorro resistance through this lens. Chamorro prevention of “improvements”, re-appraisals, and, therefore, increased taxation of their lands meant maintaining possession of what was of significant value to them. As captured in the article, certain Chamorro families interpreted “improvements” to their properties differently from their colonial counterparts. To them, the types of “improvements” to be made to their lands were to be determined based on what they wanted it to provide to fulfill their everyday needs and social obligations. Refusing to “improve” to meet the naval government’s standards was a testament to the resilience of Chamorro families during times of adversity under the American colonial regime.

*Håyi i Thief? (Who is the Thief?)*

Throughout the island, it was common to hear the expression “nangga agupa”<sup>119</sup>, meaning “wait until tomorrow” in English. The phrase was considered so problematic that the navy felt it deserving of its own editorial in *The Guam Recorder* in 1929:

Tomorrow – the great stealer of time – As the desperate thief enters your home and robs you of your valuables and then goes on his way, this greatest of all desperados continues to rob you every day of that which is the most valuable thing you own, and is your most indispensable asset – Time. Time is money and the stuff success is made of. The fellow that is always late, that soldier on the job, the wait until tomorrow chap, is a dangerous person to have about, he cannot be trusted for he not only delays doing that which should be done today, but he is a bad example for all those with whom he comes in contact, and inculcates into them the habit of put-it-off-until-tomorrow. This waster and stealer of time is harder to guard against than any thief out of jail, therefore he is more dangerous than the robber of your material possessions.<sup>120</sup>

According to the naval government, “wasted time” was a major hindrance to commercial agricultural development on Guam. One commenter remarked, “Like an army of immigration, our so-called farmers of today daily migrate to their homes in Agana from their farms 7 to 12 miles distant, in the early hours of the evening, and vice versa, in the late hours of the morning. How much can a farmer accomplish in this manner?... And is he not losing

---

<sup>119</sup> “Nangga Agupa,” *The Guam Recorder* 6, no. 7 (October 1929): 125.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

valuable time spent in going back and forth?”<sup>121</sup> A writer by the name of Maria G. Brunton referred to these patterns as “customs of indolence” common in the tropics.<sup>122</sup> After a few hours of ranch work, Brunton observed, farmers would head to town and there, in the coolness of the evening, would “smoke good American tobacco, drink cold Japanese beer, see a movie or talk with one’s neighbors who have also left their ranches to join in the communal life.”<sup>123</sup>

In his *Entanglements of Empire Missionaries, Maori, and the Question of the Body*, Tony Ballantyne examines the “industrious” revolution in eighteenth-century British economic history.<sup>124</sup> Linking commerce, agriculture, and faith, British missionaries sought to effectively inculcate work discipline and “industriousness” among pious native Maori of Aotearoa.<sup>125</sup> Among the key aspects of this “industrious” revolution was time discipline. In line with similar beliefs and attitudes, American officials in pre-war Guam likewise sought to acculturate Chamorros by altering indigenous notions of time.

In addition to escaping in the pleasure of certain whims and vices, as Brunton suggests, Chamorros had other valid reasons for traveling to town. With greater sensitivity to Chamorro needs and desires, Adriano C. Sanchez wrote, “Several people stay in Agaña because of the fear that when one of the members of the family gets sick in the ranch it is difficult to reach the hospital. Several families stay in Agaña for three or four months when mothers are expecting confinement. If each community is provided with a nurse or a midwife and a dressing station several of these families will have no need of staying in Agaña or

---

<sup>121</sup> “Illusion Versus Facts,” *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 4 (July 1935): 93.

<sup>122</sup> Maria G. Brunton, “Prize Essay – Third Prize How to Keep Farmers on the Farm,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. 5 (August 1938):16.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Tony Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Maori, and the Question of the Body* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 99.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

town.”<sup>126</sup> There was also the issue of distance between farm and school or church. Sanchez stated, “Those whose ranches are located within one or more miles away from the schoolhouse realize the hardships which their children undergo in walking to and from school on bad trails especially during the rainy season. They naturally prefer to stay in Agaña or in a town where the children can attend school comfortably and without endangering their health by getting their shoes and clothes wet most of the time in passing through poor trails.”<sup>127</sup>

In contrast, the navy worked to cultivate feelings of guilt among Chamorros for “abandoning” their farms as well as generated anxiety over the potential for theft on one’s property:

A farmer reporting a case of thieving to the police is only stealing himself: When a farmer leaves his ranch at so early a time in the evening as 6 o’clock, he not only encourages the thief but helps him in the act! As much as the Government is striving to stamp out robbery on the Island its law enforcement agency is inadequate to keep watch of every ranch in Guam. You will be helped if you can help yourself!<sup>128</sup>

In the eyes of the navy, refusing to protect such “wealth” on the farm meant neglect toward the needs of the family.

Other elements of the Chamorro temporal schema were also articulated as “evils” working against the Naval Government’s Progressive Policy.<sup>129</sup> Indigenous spirituality, for one, was often condemned and reduced to mere superstition by colonial officials. However, to some Chamorros, supernatural forces were unquestionably present. Spirits intervened in their everyday lives and dictated when and when not to do things. Even during the Spanish colonial period were Chamorros reported to have created work delays due to avoidance or

---

<sup>126</sup> Adriano C. Sanchez, “Prize Essay – How to Keep Farmers in the Farms,” *The Guam Recorder* 15 no. 5 (August 1938):18.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> “Illusion Versus Fact,” *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 4 (July 1935): 93.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

abandonment of projects located on “places void of trees [where] they have seen... ghosts... goblins or something similar.”<sup>130</sup>

It was also noted that some Chamorros preferred working according to the phases of the moon and tide.<sup>131</sup> If a farmer were to plant sweet potatoes, yams, and other tuber crops at low tide and full moon, it was predicted that she would receive larger quantities of harvest in small crop sizes. Conversely, if the tide was high and the moon full, she would have smaller quantities of larger sized and better quality crops. One observer remarked, “When asked why this is, he will explain that when the tide is low, many rocks and stones are in view on the reef and plants set out at this time will produce a crop which will cause his fields to be covered with potatoes or other products that grow in the ground, as the reef and beaches are covered with rocks and stones at low tide.”<sup>132</sup> Planting was frequently reported to have taken place at night perhaps in observance of such phases, preference for the coolness of the night, or to escape work under the colonial gaze.

Some Chamorros also insisted on doing other activities when the moon and tide were favorable.<sup>133</sup> Timber cutting and the gathering of coconut leaves to be transformed into thatched roofs for Chamorro houses were done during low tide and the first quarter of the moon. Failure to gather during this season would’ve resulted in dryer wood and insect infestation. The squeezing and boiling of coconut water in the process of making coconut oil was also preferred to be done when the tide was high because doing so during low tide would result in a smaller quantity of oil. Of particular importance was the monitoring of blood flow during such phases of the moon and tide. The castration of livestock was done during the last

---

<sup>130</sup> Felipe de la Corte y Ruano Calderon, “Descriptive and Historical Report on the Marianas Islands,” *Official State Gazette of the Overseas Ministry*, (Madrid: National Press, 1875),” 147.

<sup>131</sup> “Planting by the Moon and Tide and Superstitions of the Chamorro People,” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 3, No. 9 (December 1926): 245.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

and first quarter of the moon, or in the dark of the moon, because it was said that there will be much less flow of blood at this time. Similar beliefs of blood flow applied to the human body.

Thus, despite the colonial government's efforts to make Chamorros internalize the need for hard work and self-discipline, they struggled to dislodge indigenous rhythms of work and notions of time and space. Entangled was a western worldview that promoted sustained and regular labor and time discipline with an indigenous worldview that privileged familial obligations, called for a particular relationship with the island's ecology, and understood that supernatural forces also influenced one's time.

### "More Better" Machinery

In October of 1929, a writer of *The Guam Recorder* sarcastically encouraged Americans to imagine themselves on the average Guam farm laboring "with the primitive farming implements that the Chamorro farmer" used.<sup>134</sup> It was predicted that most volunteers "would have other ideas that the native would no doubt define as 'more better' for the improvement of the soil."<sup>135</sup> The use of the fosiño – a thrust hoe introduced during the Spanish colonial period – was a common sight and irritant to the naval government who considered it less efficient than the tractor and tools it proposed. As a matter of fact, even prior to the American administration, colonial officials were problematizing the tool.<sup>136</sup> On September 8, 1848, for example, Governor Don Pablo Perez acknowledged it as an inadequate method of



**Figure 5. Farmer Using Fosiño.** "The Fosiño," *The Guam Recorder* 11, no. 124 (July 1934): 67.

<sup>134</sup> "Why Not More Improvements?" *The Guam Recorder* 6, no. 7 (October 1929):124.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> "The Fosiño," *The Guam Recorder* 11, no. 124 (July 1934): 67.

cultivating the soil still preferred by the native.<sup>137</sup> Accompanied by the carabao – a water buffalo that served as a beast of burden – the fosiño-holding native would become the caricature through which the navy derided Chamorro farmers.

The introduction of modern machinery was thus believed to serve as the solution to agricultural unproductivity and was also projected to combat tax delinquency:

there is little doubt that there will be more agricultural products produced, and the government will have a better change of receiving more revenue and the farmer and general taxpayer will be in a position to meet his present need, and a future call for increased taxes.<sup>138</sup>

The introduction of modern tools was more than a matter of replacing functional material objects, but about generating an economic cycle of “self-sufficiency” (read economic dependency). In his analysis of nineteenth-century missionary activity in New Zealand, Tony Ballantyne notes how the introduction of new tools and technology [to Māori] through the mission was believed to “enable the creation of an important set of economic, social, and cultural relationships.”<sup>139</sup> He states, “The missionaries would not only be the vector through which instruments of civilization – such as axes, spades, and the ploughs – would be introduced, but they would also function as the masters of employers of Māori, who would have to work on the mission stations in order to be able to pay for these novel items... Missionary-directed labor would not only help “improve” the settlement, but it would also provide the opportunity for introducing Māori to Christian thought.”<sup>140</sup>

Likewise, in pre-war Guam, the naval government believed it could introduce Chamorros to western economic business practices through loaning or renting out farm equipment:

The Guam farmer cannot supply himself with expensive power farming machinery, nor can he be made to understand that this could be procured on a cooperative plan,

---

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> “Why Not More Improvements?” *The Guam Recorder* 6, no. 7 (October 1929):124.

<sup>139</sup> Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire*, 98.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

therefore the only solution seems to be that the insular government come to his aid and invest a few thousand surplus dollars and give him a start, assuring him that his crop will find ready sale.<sup>141</sup>

The assumption that Chamorros could not grasp a cooperative model of business reflects the day's colonial discourses. Indeed, Chamorros lived by a cooperative model however informed by values associated with *kustumbren Chamorros*.

### "The Dignity of Labor"

Cooperation could be witnessed through Chamorro practices of *inafa'maolek* and *chenchule'*. *Inafa'maolek*, literally meaning "to make good", is the Chamorro philosophical concept of harmony.<sup>142</sup> *Chenchule'*, the Chamorro term for reciprocity, involves the exchange of goods and services. Communal labor is thus associated with *chenchule'*, and, in pre-war Guam, could be performed within roof-thatching parties, group fishing activities, and farming activities. While on his tour of duty in Guam, Admiral Seaton Schroeder recorded one such observation of this practice:

A very important and excellent feature in the social fabric is the pride and happiness in the possession of land, which results in the community being composed of a large number of small landowners. The effect of this is, of course, to minimize the amount of labor that can be hired, with a direct consequence that large holdings are rare and that application of capital would be handicapped by dearth of labor. One ranchman would get his neighbors in for a few days to help cut his sugar cane or corn or to gather his rice or coffee, and would board and lodge them for the time; the next week he would be doing the same for his neighbors.<sup>143</sup>

Seaton continued to remark that Chamorros "were very haughty in the matter of accepting money; and it took infinite patience and tact on the part of the...Public Works Officer, to

---

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> See expanded definitions of these terms in chapter one. Robert Underwood, "Hispanicization as a Socio-historical Process on Guam." (Unpublished manuscript prepared for University of Guam, Guam History Courses, 1978, 16-17.

<sup>143</sup> "Admiral Seaton Schroeder's Reminiscences of His Tour of Duty as Governor of Guam," *The Guam Recorder* 3, no. 1 (April 1926): 7.



explain the dignity of labor and to prevail upon men to work at so much a day to build roads, etc.”<sup>144</sup>

The colonial discourse suggested that one could demonstrate genuine community engagement by taking up commercial agriculture as opposed to subsistence farming alone. Governor Roy Smith once remarked, “The native knows nothing of community work, he works only for himself. If he has more than he needs he gives it away.”<sup>145</sup> This colonial notion of “community” is further portrayed in the following definition of a farm provided by an author of *The Guam Recorder*:

A “farm” for census purposes...is all the land which is directly farmed by one person, either by his own labor alone or with the assistance of members of this household or hired employees. The land operated by a partnership is likewise considered a farm. A “farm” may consist of a single tract of land, or of a number of separate tracts, and these several tracts, may be held under different tenures, as when one track is owned by the farmer and another tract is rented by him. When a landowner [has] one or more tenants, renters, or managers, the land operated by each is considered a farm. Thus on a plantation the land operated by each cropper or tenant was reported as a separated farm, and the land operated by the owner or manager by means of wage hands likewise was reported as a separate farm.

Arguably, a farm held different meanings for different Chamorro families, including as a resource that could potentially generate income and increase their standard of living.

Chamorro historian James Perez Viernes moves beyond its potential to provide upward mobility to describe how the *lâncho* (ranch) allowed Chamorros to live somewhat autonomously from the colonial gaze in Hagåtña.<sup>146</sup> Guam historian Michael Clement, Jr. also notes how Chamorros were able to perpetuate “values distinct from the colonial culture” and

---

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Annual Report of the Governor of Guam, Naval Government of Guam, 1917, 41.

<sup>146</sup> James Perez Viernes, “Chamorro Men in the Making Capitalism and Indigenous Masculinities Under US Naval Colonialism in Guam,” *eJournal of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Pacific Studies*, Issues 1.2 and 2.1, April 2010, <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/pacificcurrents/viernes.htm>.

“maintained indigenous continuities in aspects of life where the colonial government had little reach” such as the home, farm, and imposed rituals of the church.<sup>147</sup>

Chamorro mobility to and from each other’s farms thus allowed for cultural continuities which include demonstrations of *chenchule’*, *inafa’maolek*, and *mamåhlao* behavior. Arguably, the Chamorro neighbors in Schroeder’s account were performing *chenchule’* exchanges by providing labor for one another. Their refusal to accept money in exchange for their labor can also be interpreted as a demonstration of *mamåhlao* behavior:

Mamåhlao sets the standards by which to measure character, upbringing and conduct. It represents all the Chamorro ideas of what is proper and civilized behavior. A Chamorro who “has shame” is always humble and respectful; he or she is honorable and generous and caring of others; he or she is loyal to his or her family and is diligent about fulfilling his or her obligations and those of his or her family. A person who does not “have shame” is taimamåhlao. If he or she is “without shame,” he or she is selfish, crude and disrespectful. Taimamåhlao (shameful) behavior embarrasses everyone and reflects poorly on the offensive individual’s whole family.<sup>148</sup>

Thus, the individuals in Schroeder’s account were both aware of “the dignity of labor” as well as the social ramifications should they have accepted money from their neighbors. What appears to be of greater value was securing ties and resources and with neighbors and therefore reinforcing *inafa’maolek* through communal labor. Schroeder, too, acknowledged the resilience of practices such as *chenchule’*, stating, “While that trait seemed to offer something of a barrier to material productiveness, it was a very wholesome tendency which it is hoped will hold its own against outside influences.”<sup>149</sup>

---

<sup>147</sup> Michael Richard Clement. “Kustumbre, Modernity and Resistance the Subaltern Narrative in Chamorro Language Music” (PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2011), 14-15.

<sup>148</sup> Carmen Artero Kasperbauer, “The Chamorro Culture,” *Kinalamten Pulitikât: Siñenten i Chamorro/Issues in Guam’s Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective, Hale’-ta series* (Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 29.

<sup>149</sup> “Admiral Seaton Schroeder’s Reminiscences of His Tour of Duty as Governor of Guam,” *The Guam Recorder* 3, no. 1 (April 1926): 7.

### Currency of the Soil

As noted in the previous chapter, Chamorro economic transactions would have been classified as “savage commerce” or “silent trade”, which scholars like Nicholas Thomas have articulated in other Pacific island contexts.<sup>150</sup> Such transactions would have been reduced to “exchanges of utilitarian value”.<sup>151</sup> The absence of “true money” was seen as a primitive condition and objects assumed to have fixed value were identified as “early forms” of money.<sup>152</sup> The use of American currency was a gradual process for some Chamorros who did not have wage-earning jobs in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and thus relied heavily on barter for their day to day needs.

On March 12, 1900, William E. Safford re-iterated Governor Richard P. Leary’s prohibition of transactions using non-monetary items. To the merchants of Guam, he stated, “Gentlemen, the Governor has directed me to inform you that he is now preparing an order which forbids the making of copra, or other products of the soil, the currency of this island. Goods sold must be paid for in money.”<sup>153</sup> He continued that such a practice permitted people to “make debts by furnishing them with merchandise to be paid for at some future time in copra not yet harvested at the time of making the debt is forbidden.” In response to persistent bartering, Safford stated, “Every encouragement is to be given... so that it may be possible for them to practice economy.”<sup>154</sup>

Safford attributed such transactions to “systems of indebtedness”, stating, “it is of the same nature as the pernicious system of peonage, in consequence of which persons on this island have been kept for decades...obliged to furnish him [the creditor] with the products of

---

<sup>150</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 11-12.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Safford, William E. “A Year on the Island of Guam An Account of the First American Administration Extracts from the Note-Book of a Naturalist on the Island of Guam Part XXVII,” *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 6 (September 1935): 147.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

their soil or with the labor of their hands. This is absolutely contrary to the principles of personal liberty which every subject of the United States has the right to enjoy.”<sup>155</sup> Arguably, what was misinterpreted as a system of indebtedness and, on certain occasions, “slavery”, was the practice of *chenchule*. Safford’s remarks highlight the irony of the political relationship between Guam and the United States. Administered first and foremost as a naval station, Guam’s people experienced authoritarian rule. Classified as non-U.S. citizens or an alien race, Chamorros did not necessarily experience those “liberties” promised to subjects of the United States, as Safford claimed. Even within Safford’s estate do we find such contradictions unfolding when he mentions what could be argued to be a form of servitude under his authority:

Day after day the women and children carried water for more than a mile to water [tobacco plants], keeping down the weeds between the rows, and examining the plants for tobacco worms...I admired the energy of the natives, who prepared the fields with great patience, forming the irrigating ditches and setting out the young plants one by one...My own ranches are in flourishing condition”.<sup>156</sup>

### The American Way

To better regulate Chamorro transactions, the naval government invested in institutions such as the Farmers’ Market. Between 1900-1903, Governor Schroeder established a public market in the capital of Agaña (Hagåtña). The market was intended to serve as a central place of business in which Chamorros could be introduced to western business practices. It was a remnant of the previous colonial administration and its level of maintenance varied with the naval administrators in office. The market’s location – within walking distance from government headquarters – held tremendous implications for the level of surveillance intended for the facility.

---

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Safford, William E. “A Year on the Island of Guam An Account of the First American Administration Extracts from the Note-Book of a Naturalist on the Island of Guam Part XXVII,” *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 6 (September 1935): 147.

Getting the market up and running was a lot easier said than done as some Chamorros resisted the market. One reason was that participation required the production of surplus food. However, most Chamorros practiced subsistence farming and any excess food was



**Figure 6. Meat Market in Agaña, Guam, 1916.** Photo courtesy of Nieves Flores Memorial Library. Featured in Anthony Leon Guerrero, “The Economic Development of Guam,” *Kinlamten Pulitikât: Siñenten I Chamorro/Issues in Guam’s Political Development the Chamorro Perspective*, Hale’-ta series. Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996.

normally given away to relatives or friends because of the risk of spoilage.<sup>157</sup> The naval government often viewed the distribution of excess food as a distasteful form of “charity” and an example of squandered economic opportunity.<sup>158</sup>

Another reason as to why Chamorros resisted the market was because it disrupted their daily routines. Keeping in mind that the main source of transportation at the time was the bull cart, we can see how attending the market was a major inconvenience especially for northern or southern villagers, who lived further away from the capital located in central Guam. One farmer from the southern village of Inarajan shared how his father had to leave

<sup>157</sup> Anne Perez Hattori, “Navy Blues: U.S. Naval Rule on Guam and the Rough Road to Assimilation, 1898-1941,” *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 5, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 27.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

home around three o'clock in the morning in order to get to the market on time.<sup>159</sup> The navy thus made greater efforts to bring farmers to the market. Governor Smith, for example, sent trucks and boats around the island to collect both produce and farmers. This was in response to the poor turnout on the first Saturday of the market when it was reported that practically nothing was brought in.<sup>160</sup>



**Figure 7. Yigo Farmers.** Guampedia.

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/guampedia/albums/72157623544967207/page3>.

Under this system, Chamorros began to desire the unique products that were available to military and government wage earners. They thus began to accumulate the money necessary to buy things for themselves and their families. Eventually, some began to participate in the Farmer's Market. However, despite the flow of income coming into market,

---

<sup>159</sup> Ben Meno, "A History of the Guam Farmers' Market, 1898-1941." Unpublished undergraduate research paper for a University of Guam 20<sup>th</sup> Century Guam History Course. Interview by Elyssa J. Santos, March 23, 2013.

<sup>160</sup> Anne Perez Hattori, "The Navy Blues: US Navy Policies in Guam, 1899-1941." Unpublished manuscript: Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1995, 12.

money was not always used as the colonial government intended. Governor Smith, for examples, stated, “The native rancher thought it derogatory to sell and stand beside his wares and take money, but he was told that it was the American way.”<sup>161</sup>

Arguably, Smith did not understand the cultural norms influencing Chamorro vendor reactions. Smith would be advised to take note of what Admiral Seaton Schroeder referred to as the “unwritten laws” that dictated Chamorro behavior. Schroeder provided one example of the circumstances that determined whether food was considered subsistence or commodity, stated, “ For instance, any one passing by another’s property and feeling hungry or thirsty is entirely at liberty to climb a tree, knock down a coconut and eat and drink; but to pick up coconuts from the ground would be regarded as theft, as that would be done only to use the meat of the nut to make copra, a marketable article of export.”<sup>162</sup>

Barrigada resident Nito Blas expanded on the persistence of barter within the market, stating, “People didn’t always use money properly. They knew what their produce was worth in American money, but if someone offered money less than that, they just give the food to them. The same goes for trading. If someone offers you beans and it’s not equal to the value of your watermelon, it’s ok. They just give it to them because the Chamorros help each other. Cos’ maybe he can’t afford it.”<sup>163</sup> Misinterpreting this as a “system of practical slavery”, *The Guam Recorder* reported, “A large proportion of the people of Guam will accept anything they can get on credit without any thought of how or when they will be able to pay for

---

<sup>161</sup> Annual Reports of the Naval Governors of Guam 1917, 42. Agana, Guam: Naval Government of Guam.

<sup>162</sup> “Admiral Seaton Schroeder’s “Reminiscences of his Tour of Duty as Governor of Guam,” *The Guam Recorder* vol, no. (April 1926).

<sup>163</sup> Nito Blas, “A History of the Guam Farmers’ Market, 1898-1941.” Unpublished undergraduate research paper for a University of Guam 20<sup>th</sup> Century Guam History Course. Interview by Elyssa J. Santos, March 14, 2013.

it...they cannot seem to rid themselves of it and thereby become independent by paying their way as they go.”<sup>164</sup>

Pre-War Farmers’ Market attendee Francisca Quintanilla Franquez stated, “In the beginning, very seldom we used American money. The people mostly traded, *nai*. We didn’t bother with money because there was no use for it at the time. Nothing to buy, no real stores like you see today.”<sup>165</sup>

Inarajan farmer Ben Meno also noted how certain commodities were used to supplement cash, stating, “The money back then was eggs and corn. If you had eggs and corn, you had money!”<sup>166</sup>

There was also the fact that Chamorro wages were less than their American counterparts. Thus, Chamorros



**Figure 8. Francisca Quintanilla Franquez, 97.** Photo Courtesy of Tihu Lujan. *The Guam Daily Post*. Accessed June 12, 2018.

[https://www.postguam.com/years-later-wwii-survivors-recount-their-stories/article\\_2d8c0692-b85d-11e6-a67b-ff947b81a671.html](https://www.postguam.com/years-later-wwii-survivors-recount-their-stories/article_2d8c0692-b85d-11e6-a67b-ff947b81a671.html).

had to pay “forty to sixty per cent more [for general imported items] than the service personnel and others who are privileged to deal at the government commissary store have to pay.”<sup>167</sup> On several occasions, *The Guam Recorder* reprinted prices of Farmers’ Market items “to meet the decreased incomes of the people.”<sup>168</sup>

A passage describing the Public Market in the 1938 *National Geographic Magazine* describes the strategic ways in which Chamorros acquired and used money:

<sup>164</sup> “Credit Cause of Backwardness of the Island,” *The Guam Recorder* 5, no. 6 (September 1928): 122.

<sup>165</sup> Francisca Quintanilla Franquez, “A History of the Guam Farmers’ Market, 1898-1941.” Unpublished undergraduate research paper for a University of Guam 20<sup>th</sup> Century Guam History Course. Interview by Elyssa J. Santos, February 15, 2013.

<sup>166</sup> Meno, interview.

<sup>167</sup> “Why Not More Improvements?” *The Guam Recorder* 6, no. 7 (October 1929):124.

<sup>168</sup> “Public Market Meets Pay Cut,” *The Guam Recorder* 9, no. 5 (August 1932): 79.



Needs, which are simple, are satisfied for the most part by what can be grown at home or obtained by barter from a neighbor. When clothing must be purchased or when tax time comes around, the Chamorro cuts some copra and thus gets the necessary cash... Most of the products we buy in the local market are to be had by the natives for nothing more than the effort of gathering them.<sup>169</sup>

Piti resident Ben Gumataotao recalls, “The people traded mostly produce. They don’t really trade with money at the market. They keep it so they can buy American things.”<sup>170</sup> The Inarajan farmer echoes Gumataotao’s remarks, stating, “They have all the food they need, but the people in the South, they valued needle and thread. That’s what they’ll spend money on when they go into town.”<sup>171</sup> The remarks of William E. Safford on Saturday, April 17, 1900 essentially sums up the mentality of many Chamorros who lived in pre-war Guam. Safford stated, “the natives say it [copra] is as good as money... The universal theory among neighbors seems to be, ‘what is the use of paying money for what you yourself can produce!’”<sup>172</sup>

Greg Denning talks about how cultures expose their structures of law and morality when exposed to one another.<sup>173</sup> In the case of Guam, the colonial discourse declared that if you participated in the market economy, you were helping make yourself and the island prosperous. If you refused to do so, you were irresponsible, lazy, and indifferent to the greater needs of society:

One way is to be free from the depressing influence of poverty or near poverty. This can only be done through the production of wealth... It is not enough to make money to be happy. We must save money... If all the money received for copra and other products of export were kept on the island each year, soon our wealth would be doubled and trebled, and individual wealth would be increased and all the inhabitants

---

<sup>169</sup> Margaret M. Higgins. “Guam – Perch of the China Clippers,” *National Geographic* 74, no. 1 (1938), 99.

<sup>170</sup> Ben Gumataotao, “A History of the Guam Farmers’ Market, 1898-1941.” Unpublished undergraduate research paper for a University of Guam 20<sup>th</sup> Century Guam History Course. Interview by Elyssa J. Santos, March 23, 2013.

<sup>171</sup> Meno, interview.

<sup>172</sup> Safford, William E., “A Year on the Island of Guam An Account of the First American Administration Extracts from the Note-Book of a Naturalist on the Island of Guam Part XXII,” *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 6 (September 1935): 147-148.

<sup>173</sup> Greg Denning, “Review of Marists and Melanesians by Hugh Laracy,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 12 (1978): 82.

would be independent with no fear of poverty and with the knowledge that necessities and many of the luxuries of life would be theirs.<sup>174</sup>

Arguably, maintaining a state of what the navy articulated as “poverty” meant greater autonomy for those who resisted colonial authority. For many Chamorros, such flowery exhortations about “community” translated into expected conformity.

Worthy of consideration at this point is Hanlon’s analysis of the work of Historian Thomas G. Paterson. Paterson has written on how “Americans crafted a consciousness of their historical experience a national ideology that integrated political and economic tenets into a ‘peace and prosperity’ view of life.”<sup>175</sup> Hanlon applies this to the region of Micronesia, stating, “American ideology held that peace and stability in the larger world were dependent upon economic prosperity and political democracy. Poverty, on the other hand, led to injustice, chaos, violence, and abusive political systems... American efforts at economic development in Micronesia would reveal what it meant to be productive, prosperous, and free, what it meant to be American.”<sup>176</sup>

At one point in time, the market was said to have performed better than the Commissary Store, “a certain indication of growing prosperity to the Chamorro farmer”<sup>177</sup> according to colonial officials. Indeed, over time, some Chamorros took advantage of the opportunities provided by the market and, slowly, it began to take on new meaning to this community. Many elders described it as a social hub. It was a space that patrons like my great-grandmother, Francisca, looked forward to visiting to catch up with family and friends, hear the latest news and gossip, and to criticize the naval government. For central Guam resident Gumataotao, it provided an opportunity to reconnect with family traveling from the

---

<sup>174</sup> “How May the People of Guam Gain More Happiness?” *The Guam Recorder* 6, no. 4 (July 1929): 54.

<sup>175</sup> David Hanlon, 5.

<sup>176</sup> Hanlon, 5-6.

<sup>177</sup> “Address of Governor Willis W. Bradley, Jr.,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 3 (October 1934).

northern part of the island. “I caught fish at the harbor, put it in a 5 gallon, you know, with salt water and bring it home. It was better to bring it to the market alive because if it’s dead, it’s going to spoil,” Gumataotao said. He recounts the bumpy bus rides to the market from his village, Piti. The bus was filled with livestock, produce, and laughter, especially when the fishy water from his gallons escaped and wet nearby passengers.

In 1938, a photo of the Farmers’ Market appeared in the National Geographic magazine. The caption read, “U.S. Sailors and Marines Keep Agaña Markets Prosperous.” What was striking about the photo, however, was that no U.S. sailors or marines were captured within it. Captured instead was an assortment of fish and chicken surrounded by Chamorro women and men. Some appeared to be smiling at the camera while others seemed to be caught off guard or showing signs of discomfort. These Chamorro faces are somewhat reflective of the broader community’s ambivalence toward the project. While some may have embraced the Farmers’ Market, others remained skeptical and disinterested in participating.

By pointing to the lack of military personnel in the photo, I do not wish to suggest that colonial officials were never present nor deny any form of participation or contribution to the market. Quite the opposite, the navy sought to increase surveillance to prevent further unintended consequences. I simply highlight the photo’s caption because it lends visual credence to the colonial discourse that presents the Navy as a paternalistic figure and Chamorros as complacent and ignorant to the colonial project. While the caption denies Chamorro agency, accounts provided by Chamorro elders reveal how Chamorros were active participants and did not always abide by the mandates handed to them by the navy. Instead, many consciously operated according to the values associated with *kustumbren Chamorro*. When asked whether he witnessed the navy disrupt such defiant practices, Gumataotao responded, “It didn’t matter. Back then, the market was run by the Chamorros.”<sup>178</sup>

---

<sup>178</sup> Blas, interview.



**Figure 9. U.S. Sailors and Marines Keep Agaña Markets Prosperous,** Margaret M. Higgins, "Guam – Perch of the China Clippers," *National Geographic* 74, no. 1 (1938), 99.

### CHAPTER 3

## STATIONED TO SERVE: THE GUAM AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

“Science has always scoffed at the “old wives tale” about planting seeds by the moon’s phases... Perhaps the native planters of Guam, as well as the old-fashioned farmers of other parts of the world, who plant their crops “in the moon” are not so foolish as many believe. They may not understand why they do this, and their explanations may at times be amusing, but experiments seem to have proven that the action of moonlight has some effect upon the germination of seeds and plants.”<sup>179</sup> The rest of the article from which this excerpt is extracted highlights various examples of what the naval government articulated as Chamorro superstition. Rather than considering the unique, intimate relationship Chamorros had with the land and sea, the dominant discourse rendered Chamorros ignorant, uncivilized, and incapable of scientific inquiry. Thus, beyond the desire to transform the Chamorro body was the desire to probe the Chamorro mind. Arguably, agricultural experimentation was a colonial project that simultaneously operated as an intellectual experiment for the native participant.

Coinciding with the colonial desire to strengthen Guam’s market economy was the need to increase the local food supply. Moore states that, by the 1920s, the empire was becoming a political liability for both the Democratic and Republican parties. As a result, the United States began to liquidate many of its colonial possessions and protectorates.<sup>180</sup> Moore states, “The American age of formal empire and Progressive nation building, which had begun with so much sound and fury in 1898, would end quietly less than forty years later.”<sup>181</sup> By the 1930s, the Great Depression was in full swing and Guam and other territories became

---

<sup>179</sup> “Planting by the Moon and Tide and Superstitions of the Chamorro People,” *The Guam Recorder* 3, no. 9 (December 1926): 245.

<sup>180</sup> Moore, *American Imperialism and the State, 1893-1921*, 4.

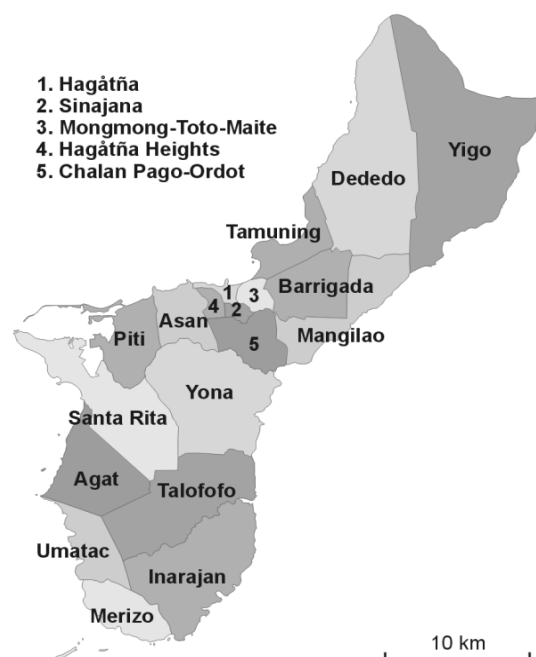
<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

victim to congressional budget cuts that hampered Progressive projects championed by Governors like Willis W. Bradley, Jr..<sup>182</sup>

To prevent a potential food crisis, the naval government established an experiment station intended to promote agricultural research and engage in extension work with the indigenous population. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station was intended to symbolize American technological and intellectual superiority and encourage Chamorros to adopt modern agricultural methods. Through a textual analysis of reports produced by the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station and other stations that fell under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Office of Experiment Stations, I will explore the nature of agricultural projects implemented by station agents and highlight various Chamorro responses to them.

### The Piti Station

During the pre-war era, the Guam Agricultural Experimentation Station (or the Federal Experiment Station as it was sometimes locally referred to as) was located in the central village of Piti. It was established following the request of early naval governors who “realized the urgent need of extending assistance toward agricultural improvement of the island”.<sup>183</sup> In the first decade of the American administration, recommendations from Guam colonial officials were sent to the Secretary of the Navy



**Figure 10. Map of Guam.** Wikipedia.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villages\\_of\\_Guam](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villages_of_Guam).

<sup>182</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 150.

<sup>183</sup> “The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station Compiled from the Station’s Publications and General Information,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932): page 433, 438.

who then formally requested the cooperation of the Department of Agriculture.<sup>184</sup> In response to these appeals, U.S. Congress appropriated \$5,000 for the fiscal year 1909 for the establishment of an agricultural experiment station on Guam.<sup>185</sup>

In the summer of 1908, Dr. W.H. Evans, Chief of Insular Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture, visited Guam “for the purpose of selecting a site for the station, the collecting of information relative to agricultural needs of the island, and deciding upon the plans of organization and initial lines of work to be conducted.”<sup>186</sup> A tract of land in Piti about 30 acres wide was then selected because of its proximity to the capital of Agana and the fact that the adjacent Agana-Piti road provided accessibility. The station’s location speaks to its importance to the naval government which developed an increasingly cooperative relationship with station officials who had similar visions to keep the colony’s economy afloat.

It wasn’t until the year 1910 that major improvements to the station’s infrastructure were made.<sup>187</sup> On October 1, 1910, a new office building was completed and occupied. In 1912, a plant propagation shed, potting house, and new residence building was also erected for “insuring the presence of some of the works at the station at all times.”<sup>188</sup> That same year, an additional 130-acre tract of land was transferred from the government by ex-Governor G. R. Salisbury.

In 1918, the naval government also leased a tract of land approximately 30 acres wide east of the Piti station property for use by the station. The adjoining land was intended to

---

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> J.B. Thompson, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1911,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912., 8.

<sup>188</sup> J.B. Thompson, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1912,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913., 8.

provide the station “with ample area for conducting the various lines of experimental work on sufficiently extensive scale”, and also for producing forage for livestock.<sup>189</sup> The lease covered only a period of five years, however, local administrators worked to secure the lease for a period of twenty-five years at the time.<sup>190</sup>

In addition to the Piti property, a stock farm about 150 acres wide was purchased in the district of Cotot in 1914.<sup>191</sup> In the Chamorro language, “cotot” means “basket.”<sup>192</sup> It is in reference to “a certain hill located in the central part of the island, and is so named due to its resemblance to a native basket called ‘cotot.’”<sup>193</sup> The farm was located roughly ten miles south and east of this station by wagon and trail and was intended for testing methods for handling livestock and to conduct orchard and vegetable experiments. The location was said to be more advantageous than the mother station in Piti considering its better soil quality and drainage capacity. By 1915, work began to enclose the pasture with woven-wire fence 42 inches in height. A three-year house for the foreman was also constructed near the end of 1914.

Aside from the Piti and Cotot stations, other properties owned by the naval government and private owners were utilized for vegetable experimentation. There included government farms at Libugan and Barrigada. The former was a 600-foot elevated garden worked by prisoners and the latter was under the direction of the Department of Industries. Also in cooperation with the naval government was Atkins, Kroll & Co. whose holdings in Tarague on the northern end of the island were designated for testing cover crops and four

---

<sup>189</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 5.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> A.C. Hartenbower, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1914,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915, 8.

<sup>192</sup> “Diary of the Four Horsemen,” *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. 5 (July 1924): 6-7.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.



types of fertilizer applications. Other cooperative gardens included those in the southern village of Inarajan owned by Jesus Flores described as “the most successful private vegetable grower on the island” and whose land had “been of particular value as demonstrations to the local farmers.”<sup>194</sup> Aside from Flores, a number of other Chamorro landowners used their properties as sites for the station’s projects to be expanded upon in the next chapter.

On one hand, the station’s expansion project – through the gradual acquisition of land, the building of cooperative networks, and the construction of new facilities – reflects the need for more productive space. However, closer textual analysis also reveals the administrative objective to convey power through its vastness, order, and cleanliness to the supposedly less-advanced and disorderly Chamorro population.<sup>195</sup> In 1911, the Guam Experiment Station reported that “convenience, utility, economy, comfort to animals, and neatness of appearance have all been considered” in the construction of the frame barn.<sup>196</sup> The standard of “neatness in appearance” did not solely apply to animal shelters but was extended to all forms of station infrastructure:

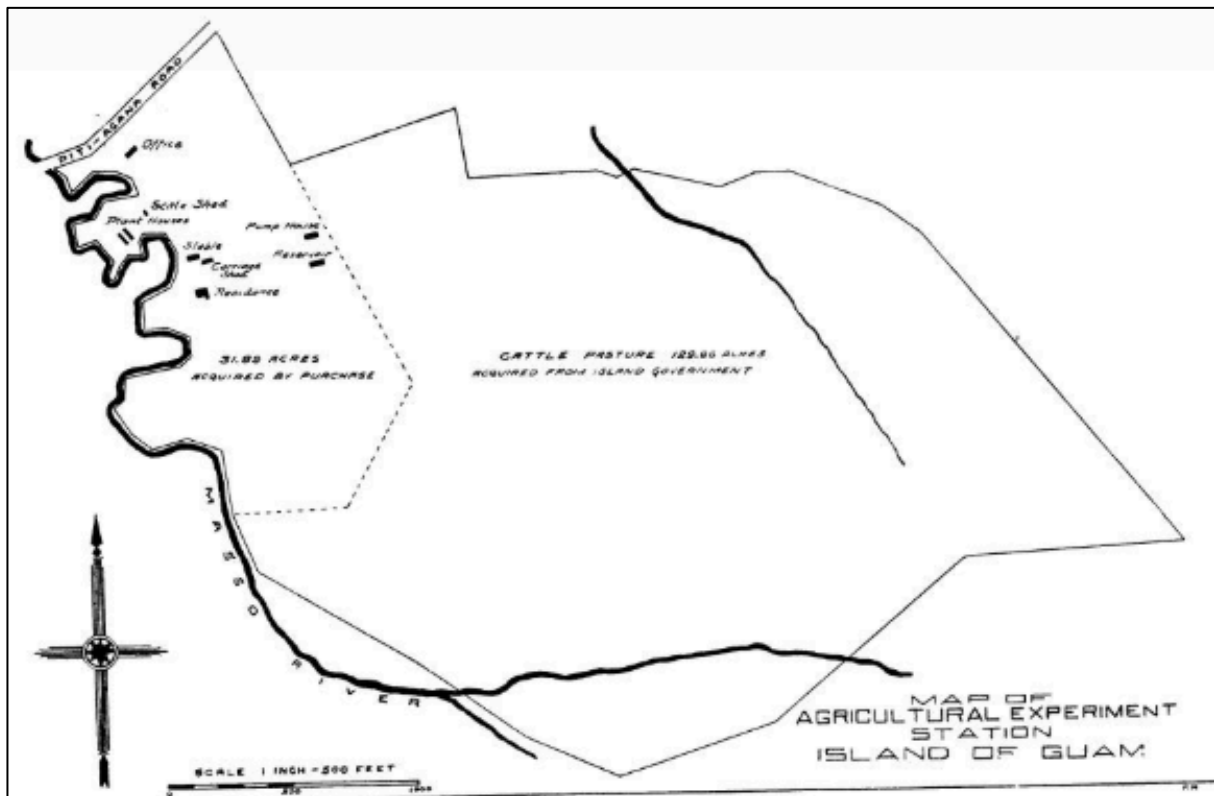
The road system of the station has been extended by the construction of about 1,000 feet, leaving about an equal amount of the system as originally planned to be constructed as time and funds are available. Walks have been laid about the new office building and a lawn covering an area of about 1 acre has been made. This improvement, while comparatively inexpensive, has added much to the appearance of the station, lending to the surroundings an air in keeping with that of the new building and evoking much favorable comment. Bermuda grass, *Capriol dactylon*, one of the most common grasses on the island, has been utilized for sodding. Economic and ornamental trees and shrubs have been planted, and hedges growing about the

---

<sup>194</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 51.

<sup>195</sup> For more information on American healthcare and sanitation policies, see Anne Perez Hattori’s *Colonial Dis-Ease: U.S. Navy Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941*.

<sup>196</sup> J.B. Thompson, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1911,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912, 8.



**Figure 11. Map of Agricultural Experiment Station, Island of Guam.** J.B. Thompson, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1911,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912, 9.

grounds have been kept neatly trimmed in order to set before the people an example of neatness and cleanliness which is so generally lacking about the native home.<sup>197</sup>

Comparatively, Nicholas Thomas, citing Timothy Mitchell’s *Colonising Egypt*, identifies the same colonial tendency to create an “appearance of order” in Fiji and Cairo. To much of the colonizer’s headache, Cairo’s narrow and disorderly alleys justified colonial architecture that created interiors and exteriors, positioned an observing subject, and thus created ““appearance of order, and order that work[ed] by appearance””.<sup>198</sup> Thus, colonial-style architectural buildings, garden landscaping, and road systems on Guam all worked to promote a certain standard for living and work spaces.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>198</sup> Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) p. 32 cited in Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994): 111.

Throughout the fourteen municipalities, ranch and home inspections were conducted. Within mass meetings, the Naval Government Agricultural Policy was delivered and “instructions were issued to the farmers to keep their ranches clean, especially in the immediate vicinity of the houses; to remove piles of coconut husks, banana stalks and other rubbish, such as bottles, cans, etc.”<sup>199</sup> It was said that “every encouragement is being given to the Chamorro farmer to improve the condition of his ranch house and farm land and to redouble his efforts in the field with a view of producing double the amount of farm products this year.”<sup>200</sup> Thus, the policy domain of agriculture was both a colonial project in and of itself as well as a vehicle through which greater regulation of sanitation, beautification, and uniformity could be enforced.

### Outlying Possessions

It is important to note that the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station did not emerge in isolation but was but one arm of a broader national and imperial project intended to promote agricultural research to boost agricultural productivity. Each state housed a federal agricultural experiment station. State stations were a product of the Hatch Act of 1887, which provided \$15,000 in financial aid for each State and was to be supplemented by state funding sources.<sup>201</sup> The Hatch Act was later supplemented by the Adams Act of 1906, the Smith-Lee Act and other special acts of Congress.<sup>202</sup>

By nature, these stations were state institutions administered by the respective states and the departments of their agricultural colleges. Due to the contributions of the federal government, supervision and advisory functions were exercised in regard to research and

---

<sup>199</sup> “Agricultural Division Notes,” *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 136 (July 1935): 98.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Allen, E.W., “Report of the Chief of the Office of Experiment Stations,” Annual Reports of the United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, Washington, D.C. October 1, 1925.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

management of the stations. The federal government thus cultivated close relationships with state stations through visitations to monitor work progress, meetings to determine the use of Federal funds, and conferences to discuss all “matters relating to the effectiveness and welfare of this important enterprise.”<sup>203</sup>

On the other hand, the experiment stations established in the “outlying possessions” of Alaska, Hawai‘i, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam were specifically authorized by U.S. Congress because “their status [was] entirely different from that of State experiment stations.”<sup>204</sup> Insular stations were entirely dependent on annual Congress appropriations made directly to the Office of Experiment Stations. The director of each station was then in charge of disbursing the funds, which were later audited by the General Accounting Office of the Office of the Secretary.<sup>205</sup>

Insular stations also followed a different policy than that of the states. General supervision and administration was placed under the Division of Insular Stations, Office of Experiment Stations.<sup>206</sup> This division, upon recommendations of the director, handled such matters as “estimates for appropriations, apportionment of funds, approval of accounts and projects, supervision and approval of publications and making of purchase through the General Supply Committee.”<sup>207</sup> All members of the staff were appointed by the Secretary with the concurrence of the Civil Service Commission. The 1925 report of the Chief of the Office of Experiment Stations, E.W. Allen, outlined the objectives of the Office:

The work of the office centered, as in the past, in three principal lines of effort: The relations with the State agricultural experiment stations, including the promotion of research and the administration of the Federal funds granted in aid of these institution; the management of experiment stations in the outlying possessions – Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands; and bibliographic work including the

---

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> “The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station Compiled from the Station’s Publications and General Information,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932): 433.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

preparation of a current world review of agricultural investigations published in the abstract journal *Experiment Station Record*.<sup>208</sup>

When the Hatch Act was passed, the outlying possessions and, therefore, the administrative institutions responsible for managing the colonies, did not exist. Consequently, “special provision [was] made from time to time for experiment stations in these territorial areas, the direct management of which [had] been assigned to the Department of Agriculture and entrusted in this office.”<sup>209</sup> In comparison to those in the continent, station agents based in the colonies appeared to have more flexibility in terms of the nature and conduct of their work:

The heads of the several stations are allowed a wide latitude in the conducting of the actual activities of their respective organizations. They employ their own labor and temporary help, device projects, carry out upon approval lines of experimental work and make local purchases of materials. With little restriction, the insular station is able to direct its efforts along almost any agricultural line that seems to demand attention.<sup>210</sup>

The ambiguity of this “wide latitude” of administration further reflects the disturbing nature of American rule in territories like Guam. Nevertheless, as we shall see in Chapter 5, such authority would be short lived as the factors that differentiated state and insular stations would ultimately determine the fate of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station by the 1930s.

Unfortunately, due to the scope of this project, I will not expand further on other outlying stations. However, an important takeaway is the colonial discourse eminent throughout the publications produced by and for them – a universal objective of the “diversification of agriculture.” This meant not just producing surplus amounts of local foods

---

<sup>208</sup> Allen, E.W, “Report of the Chief of the Office of Experiment Stations,” *Annual Reports of the United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations*, Washington, D.C. October 1, 1925, 1.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station Compiled from the Station’s Publications and General Information,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932): 433, 438-48.

for local consumption and export, but also the introduction and experimentation of crops distinctive to an American market. The colonial administration couched this campaign as a fight against poverty and malnourishment:

No similar area on the ranch or around the home gives as great food value as a well-tended vegetable garden. Also, there is no other employment that is so pleasant or healthful as the exercise and recreation afforded by a home garden. Canned vegetables for many an unnecessary expense and are inferior in flavor and other respects to the fresh product. The home vegetable garden is a project that the whole family can be interested in and help care for...<sup>211</sup>

Arguably, the discourse of “promoting self-sufficiency” in the territories through the “diversification of agriculture” was less reflective of indigenous peoples’ capacity to feed themselves and more revealing of the vulnerability of the U.S. empire during the Great Depression.

### “Experimental Knowledge”

As noted earlier, one of the objectives of the federal Office of Experiment Stations was bibliographic work, a component often highlighted for its “importance with the volume and advance of agricultural research.”<sup>212</sup> Bernard Cohn’s concept of “investigative modalities” is thus worthy of consideration here.<sup>213</sup> Investigative modalities – including an observational/travel modality, a survey modality, an enumerative modality, a museology modality, and a surveillance modality – essentially “provided the framework of colonialist knowledge of India, beginning in the earliest days of the British encounter with the subcontinent.”<sup>214</sup> Taking a historical anthropological approach to analyzing British colonialism in India, Cohn states that knowledge is essentially what colonialism is all about:

---

<sup>211</sup> A.I. Cruz, “Agricultural Experiment Station Notes: The Home Garden,” *The Guam Recorder* 7, no. 1 (April 1930): 3.

<sup>212</sup> Allen, E.W., “Report of the Chief of the Office of Experiment Stations,” Annual Reports of the United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, Washington, D.C. October 1, 1925, 2.

<sup>213</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), 1996.

<sup>214</sup> Allen Kornmesser, “Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India (review),” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 30, no. 2 (1999): 371-73.

An investigative modality includes the definition of a body of information that is needed, the procedures by which appropriate knowledge is gathered, its ordering and classification, and then how it is transformed into usable forms such as published reports, etc.”<sup>215</sup>

The federal government’s emphasis on the collection of scientific data and documentation caused a flood of station submissions into the office library. With these files, the office compiled a master list of station projects and classified them. This list was issued monthly to the experiment stations and throughout the bureaus of the department. In addition to this inventory, a classified annual list on the work and expenditures of the stations was also published and sent to Congress. The former was intended to demonstrate the progress made from this nation-wide endeavor; to make new information and methods available for application by the Office of Extension Work; to help determine which areas of study were receiving more or less attention; to help avoid research duplication, and to promote communication and coordination between stations. By 1925, the comprehensive summary listed 5,538 projects classified into 333 groups and 458 subdivisions.<sup>216</sup>

One of the federal office’s more tedious projects was the development of “the largest piece of continuous bibliographic work” which involved “the preparation of abstracts of papers on agricultural investigation throughout the world for publication in Experiment Station Record.” This bibliography was made possible by the exchanges and subscriptions of the department librarians who assisted in conducting daily examinations of all books, journals, and bulletins coming to the department library and who searched “this great mass of literature for the accounts of investigation bearing on agriculture or the methods of inquiry relating to it in its varied branches.” In 1925, Chief of the Experiment Stations E.W. Allen recognized the benefits of the project, stating, “In this way the most comprehensive review in

---

<sup>215</sup> Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 1996.

<sup>216</sup> Allen, E.W., “Report of the Chief of the Office of Experiment Stations,” Annual Reports of the United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, Washington, D.C. October 1, 1925, 2.

this field maintained by any agency in the world is kept current and published for the benefit of investigators, teachers, and others dependent upon such information. It is recognized as one of the Government's large contributions to the effectiveness of research and its application."<sup>217</sup>

Such an important undertaking meant effective communication and cooperation from all stations and thus compelled Guam station agents to develop their own library:

The completion of our new office building placed the work on a more substantial basis, and modified methods of keeping records and handling correspondence made necessary by the lack of suitable office facilities have been elaborated and improved upon, resulting in greater satisfaction in the work and in greatly increasing the usefulness of all records and reference files... A large number of bulletins and other publications and a reasonable number of volumes on agricultural and allied subjects have been collected, forming a nucleus of what it is hoped to make a good working library.<sup>218</sup>

The appointment of P. Nelson on May 1, 1911 was said to have been a great addition in insuring "greater permanency in the system of records since it is through his knowledge of record and account keeping that the system has been developed."<sup>219</sup>

With a collection developed, the impending question for colonial administrators was how such a scientific archive was to be utilized and grown on an island where "scientific research work which ordinarily occupies prominent place in the work place of similar institutions wherever modern methods of agriculture are practiced much necessarily holds a place of minor importance".<sup>220</sup> Under the impression that the Chamorro people lacked the capacity to comprehend and appropriately adopt western agricultural science without guidance, the station considered conducting its work "entirely along such practical lines as [was] thought [to] mean a direct benefit to the people"<sup>221</sup>:

---

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> J.B. Thompson, "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1911," Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912, 9.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> "The Objects of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station," *Guam News Letter* 1, no. 12 (March 1910): 2.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.



[Station publications] would have been of little service as the majority of the farmers, comprising the older generation, were unable to read English. A greater part of the station's work has necessarily been accomplished through practical demonstration and personal contact. With the present fairly large proportion of younger generation people, published data will be of great service. In the future more attention will be devoted to this matter.<sup>222</sup>

Heavy consideration of “practical methods” or “practical demonstration” over scientific research was not unique to Guam as evident in the following report about Puerto Rico:

The station is doing what it can to disseminate the results of its work through publications and extension work but there is urgent need of a much more comprehensive system of extension work by local agents among the large and for the most part uneducated agricultural population of the island.”<sup>223</sup>

Another source of frustration was the “lack of experimental data” that existed for station agents to build upon for agricultural research. The situation was highlighted in a 1932 article published in *The Guam Recorder*, stating, “Due to the local conditions prevailing in the past, the station has issued comparatively few publications.”<sup>224</sup> The station's attempt to conduct coconut experiments provides us an example of such obstacles to the grander bibliographical project. Considering the global copra market at the time, it comes as no surprise that the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station invested heavily in coconut tree growth.

Frustrated by the lack of data regarding coconut cultivation, agents found it necessary to consult Chamorro growers. This came in the form of personal visits to each grower's property and the circulation of a survey. To the station's dissatisfaction, the survey demonstrated varied responses as to the quantities of copra observed at various stages of the growth process as well as the methods employed by Chamorros. Chamorros were said to

---

<sup>222</sup> The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station Compiled from the Station's Publications and General Information,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932): 438.

<sup>223</sup> True, A.C., “Report of the Director of the States Relations Service,” United States Department of Agriculture, States Relations Service, Washington, D.C., September 28, 1921, 3.

<sup>224</sup> “Chamorro People Plead for Retention of Agricultural Experiment Station,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932), 436.

have had different spatial planting preferences and the methods employed were based on each farmer's preferences, familial capacity, and property's environmental conditions.

To resolve this issue, the station sought to make the data more accessible to its readers by generating averages of the yield quantities, spatial measurements, and weight measurements reported. This information was to be issued back to the growers in the form of a circular for their personal application. Arguably, the sheer nature of the survey did not do well to serve the average Chamorro farmer who, for the most part, did not grow surplus amounts or feel it necessary to track coconut growth except for the purposes of everyday consumption or occasional barter. Furthermore, many chose to ignore the circulars in part because of their illiteracy, but also because of the desire to operate according to their own knowledge of crops they've planted throughout their lives:

A great amount of data has been evolved – some of which are being applied and the remainder of potential value. However, in the direction of inducing the people to accept and make use of the station's findings, progress has not been as satisfactory...The Chamorro people require a greater amount of encouragement and personal supervision to induce them to accept new ideas than is the case with a more advanced people.<sup>225</sup>

Instead of listening to the agricultural station's advice regarding the picking of nuts, some planters acted based on their own discretion:

Most growers do not wait for the nuts to fall but pick them, notches being cut in the trunk of the tree to assist in climbing. Picking the nuts before they fall is said to be practiced because of the need of ready cash. The copra yield is generally considered to be increased by piling the nuts in a dry place for a month before splitting.<sup>226</sup>

Extension work with Chamorro informants intended to demonstrate the need for "improvements" in the realm of agriculture, a discourse constantly reiterated in the station's publications. It was hoped that through data collection, the station could provide interested

---

<sup>225</sup> "The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station Compiled from the Station's Publications and General Information," *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932): page 433, 438.

<sup>226</sup> C.W. Edwards, "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918," Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 57.

parties with both a manual of proper methods to perform throughout the cultivation process as well as provide an overview of the long-term costs and benefits of maintaining an ideal coconut plantation. Preventing station agents from gathering data on the cost of labor for these operations, however, was the Chamorro practice of *chenchule*:

[Costs] varied according to the help and the experience of the copra makers...It is the general practice among the smaller growers for the whole family to take part in the work and in this way keep down expenses.<sup>227</sup>

Thus, from the colonial viewpoint, the library served to reinforce the image of the station as a producer and keeper of agricultural knowledge. A growing archive of scientific research would stand as testament to the progress made possible not only by the station, but the American administration at large. Evidently, what was regarded as a valuable collection to colonial officials was described as having little to no use to a predominantly illiterate indigenous population who were not always receptive to the “experimental knowledge” it had to offer.

### *Bare Fruits*

As previously noted, the station was deeply committed to increasing food production through the proper teaching of farming. This grand task thus required the joint effort of the insular patrolmen (U.S. marines) stationed in the various districts and teachers, municipal commissioners, and representative farmers.<sup>228</sup> Said to be of great priority was increasing the yields of the “most needed foods” such as taro, corn, beans, bananas, and sweet potatoes. However, there was also a push to introduce and test foreign crops on the island.<sup>229</sup> Ultimately, the goal was to increase surplus for the local market and export economy.

In light of this mission, the station introduced Chamorros to crops associated with an western diet. In 1915, it was reported that “the plant introduction work has received

---

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 52.

considerable attention because it is fully realized that Guam produces neither the kinds nor the amounts of the different tropic fruits and vegetables it should.”<sup>230</sup> Among the crops introduced and experimented on were peas, onions, radishes, cucumbers, lettuce, cabbage, eggplants, avocados, peppers, California oranges, grapefruits, and lemon, watermelons, Hawai‘i pineapples, tomatoes, persimmons, peaches, grapes, strawberries, and foreign bananas. In 1918, fruit and nut trees were introduced from the Bureau of Agriculture in Manila, Philippines and from the United States Department of Agriculture. Pecans were also introduced from Oklahoma at this time.

The government’s desire to accommodate American patrons within the local market is evident in a station report highlighting the success of locally-grown avocados:

During the year the avocado (commonly called alligator pear) trees at the station bore fruit for the first time. The avocado, introduced since the American occupation, fruited on the island for the first time in 1909. It has been said that fruits produced in Guam are equal if not superior to those grown in the Hawaiian Islands. The avocado seems to be admirably suited to both the soil and climate conditions of Guam and is already widely spread over the island. Several hundred trees were set out during the past year. The fruit is greatly relished as a salad by most Americans, and so far there has been already market for all that has been offered for sale.<sup>231</sup>

The tolerance for particular crops proved to be a gradual process amongst some Chamorros, however, fruit was one imported food that they quickly acquired a taste for:

The people are fond of fruits of almost every kind, and many times the quantity now produced would be consumed if available. An abundance of fruit would not only better the present supply of the Chamorro and add directly many pleasures to his life, but it would also save him many a dollar which now leaves the island in exchange for expensive canned goods.<sup>232</sup>

---

<sup>230</sup> A.C. Hartenbower, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1915,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916, 13.

<sup>231</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1917,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, 38-39.

<sup>232</sup> J.B. Thompson, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1911,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912, 19.

Better methods of introducing new fruit varieties and improving orchard management were thus deemed necessary in order to facilitate such change. In 1911, the station problematized the absence of a nursery on the island, complaining that there was “not one tree or plant [available] for the purpose of sale.”<sup>233</sup>

By 1918, more attention was given to nursery work and the erection of permanent orchards. However, experiments were reported to have been fairly satisfactory and in some cases “records [had] been lost due to the theft of certain fruits and vegetables.”<sup>234</sup> Oranges, for example, were reported to be of fair quality, but “before the crop was ripe enough to be properly judged, all the fruits, including the small ones, were stolen.”<sup>235</sup> Theft, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was not taken lightly by the naval government as such crops were considered commodities and therefore a financial loss. For an institution that prided itself on the collection of experimental data, theft and consumption of the items experimented on could be considered a form of sabotage. Stealing station-grown fruits is thus another example of what James Scott articulates as “everyday resistance” or “stubborn resistance” in which peasants retaliate against their superiors not through dramatic public confrontations, but by “mitigat[ing] or deny[ing] claims vis-à-vis those superordinate classes.”<sup>236</sup> Rather than a contestation of “the formal definitions of hierarchy and power”, Chamorro theft stood as “testament to human persistence and inventiveness.”<sup>237</sup>

The “limited use” of fruits by the people was also considered an impediment to productivity “due chiefly to lack of knowledge relative to proper methods of preparation.”<sup>238</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 46.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 32.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>238</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 50.

Consequently, “a large number of new and practical methods of preparing and serving these fruits [was] devised.”<sup>239</sup> This came in the form of call outs for recipes and articles on “ways and means of using these fruits”<sup>240</sup>, which would eventually be published in *The Guam Recorder*. Considering that *The Guam Recorder* was largely inaccessible to most islanders other than perhaps the socio-economic elite, we can speculate that readers who appreciated such publications included a small circle of literate members among whom may have contributed some recipes themselves.

### Seeds of Surveillance

In order to meet the growing demand of certain products, the station invested in a major seed and plant distribution project. Available stock was distributed to villagers and to the Department of Education for children’s agricultural projects to be expanded upon in the following chapter. In 1917, it was reported that increased seed planting was

due largely to the activities of the local government in inducing the people to take steps toward increasing the food production of the island. The station is putting forth every effort to assist in this work. The increase in the number of inquiries relative to seeds and methods of planting indicate a growing interest in these matters on the part of the native farmer. A considerable increase over former years is shown in the distribution of plants and seeds. Many farmers have also saved their own seeds due to encouragement in that direction and advance from the station.<sup>241</sup>

It should be noted that the “activities of the local government” mentioned above are in reference to the partnership between the experiment station and the police department. The partnership was developed to increase surveillance over Chamorro seed recipients. In 1915, the station acknowledged the cooperation of the head of the police department, Capt. E.H. Ellis of the United States Marine Corps, who was said to have recognized “the need of

---

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1917,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918, 30-31.

improving agricultural conditions and of beautifying the island.”<sup>242</sup> Likewise, the chief forester of Guam, Corporal H. G. Hornbostel of the United States Marine Corps, provided “the immediate supervision of the planting and attention to much of the material from this station.”<sup>243</sup> In 1915, the extension station reported:

The increase in seed and plant distribution comes largely because of the cooperation between the station and the police department of the naval government of the island. It was evident near the beginning of the past fiscal year that the station could distribute considerable quantities of seeds and plants in the different portions of the island, but there was no assurance that the material put out would be planted and care for properly. The police department has patrolmen in the different localities, and these men take strong interest in improving conditions under their charge.<sup>244</sup>

From 1915 onward, a record was kept in the station files “of the names of the persons to whom material was distributed, and notes and photographs obtained from time to time [were] also filed.”<sup>245</sup> One case in which such administrative coercion appeared to be successful was in the monitoring of extension work among coffee growers. Coffee was a commodity in high demand by the naval commissary and “under this stimulus, several farmers [were said to have] been induced to make new plantings or to increase their former areas.”<sup>246</sup>

By 1918, a variety of seeds were ordered in much larger quantities from the United States. During the year, it was reported that 8,170 packages of garden seed were distributed along with 1,728 plants and rooted cuttings, several hundred pounds of seed varieties and a large number of sacks of grass roots.<sup>247</sup> No less reflective of the seed and plant distribution project’s significance to the government was the station’s agronomy and horticultural exhibit at the 1918 Guam Industrial Fair. The exhibit was created to emphasize the importance of

---

<sup>242</sup> A.C. Hartenbower, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1915,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916, 15.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid.

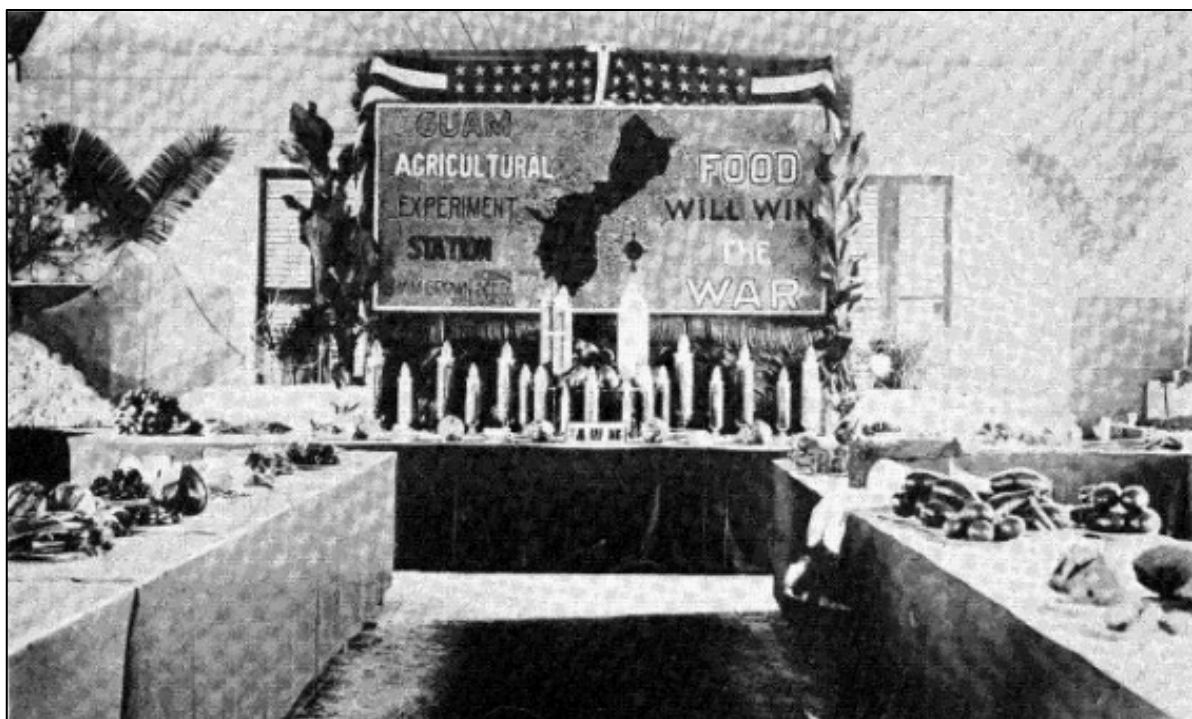
<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 59.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., 52.

seed selection and display some of the products grown from such seeds. Above the display hung an American flag. In the center was a silhouette of the island of Guam and to the left of this, the words “GUAM AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION.” The words “GUAM GROWN SEED” were also spelled out below. To the right of the silhouette was the phrase “FOOD WILL WIN THE WAR” (World War I), flagging the increasing concern over food supplies. The station reported that “the exhibit attracted most favorable attention and was chiefly of value from an educational standpoint.”<sup>248</sup> In retrospect, Robert Rogers states that, “World War I [had] little effect on the social fabric of the Chamorros” and “like most agricultural promotions [promoted at the time] by naval authorities, [such] effort [like this] produced little.”<sup>249</sup> Around the time of World War I, Chamorro energies were directed toward recovery from a major typhoon that struck the island in 1918 and a severe influenza epidemic, one of the worst in Guam’s history.<sup>250</sup>



**Figure 12. Agronomy and Horticultural Exhibits at Guam Industrial Fair, July 1918.** C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919. Insert between pages 8 and 9.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 141.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 143.



Occasionally, the station experienced seed shortages and encouraged the public to save seeds. Among its litany of other factors hampering project progress was “the absence of good transportation facilities...[and] the isolated geographical position of the island [which necessitated] long voyages between Guam and outside points, [rendering] the introduction of live plants, and even of seeds, a matter of difficulty.”<sup>251</sup> Essentially, the seed and plant distribution project reflected the naval government’s desire to promote food production through the modification of Chamorro diets. The imperial objective to “diversify agriculture” in the outlying possessions meant widening indigenous palettes to make indigenous peoples more receptive to planting introduced crops in surplus for local and external markets. While I will not deny the possibility of genuine interest in the planting of introduced seeds, we can speculate whether the “growing interest” of Chamorro participants constantly iterated after 1915 resulted from the coercive strategies employed by the police department working in tandem with the experiment station, and not solely from administrative “encouragement”.

### Friction and Failures

In closing, the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station was part of a broader national and imperial project intended to promote agricultural research for the purpose of boosting agricultural productivity. The pressure to keep up with the scientific work conducted by other countries urged the United States to make domestic improvements as well as to consider its colonies as new terrain for experimental research. Couched as a benevolent project to promote self-sustainability in the colonies, the experiment station was to aid the colonial government in preventing food insecurity. Through the lens of station agents, this would require further transformation of indigenous food systems and the conversion of indigenous bodies into industrious labor machines.

---

<sup>251</sup> The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station Compiled from the Station’s Publications and General Information,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932): 433, 438-48.

The dominant discourse upholds the experiment station as a marker of civilization in its design and purpose. Its infrastructure was intended to convey order, cleanliness, and power while its library was to signify it as a producer and keeper of agricultural knowledge on Guam. Through its extension work and the circulation of publications intended to educate Chamorros on western farming methods, the station undermined Chamorro agricultural knowledge. Where the station did engage with Chamorro informants, extracted data was transformed into textual knowledge to be used to further colonial projects. Important to consider is the power implied in notions of “experimental work” and “experimental knowledge”. Colonial agents dismissed Chamorro farming knowledge as superstition and Chamorro animal husbandry as backward. While they were quick to deem Chamorro inadequacies as flaws of their nature, they regarded station failures as trials associated with the discursive project of “experimentation”.

I thus propose a counter-narrative of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station here. Inspired by the work of Tony Ballantyne, I contest the notion that the station was a symbol of American power by conceptualizing it as a permeable space susceptible to friction caused partly by Chamorro actors. In reference to mission stations in nineteenth century New Zealand, Ballantyne states

Mission stations were produced out of and shaped by a range of forces. They were symbols of the missionary project, making manifest the missionaries’ vision of their role in the world and the power of houses, schools, chapels, gardens, and workshops to educate and transform Māori. But they were never simply symbolic: they were real places, too. As such they were molded by the constraints imposed by the topography and climate, the influence of the shifting political geographies of hapū and iwi, and the demands and interests of Māori individuals and families who developed an association with the missions. We can also think of them as being produced by the trajectories of people, animals, tools and implements, books and things, commodities and trade goods that moved in and out of the station. These movements were not smooth flows, but rather produced various forms of friction.<sup>252</sup>

---

<sup>252</sup> Ballantyne, *Entanglements of Empire*, 68.

Despite its “neatness in appearance”, the infrastructure of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station suffered just as much from deterioration as any other physical structure on the island. The same applies to its materials and supplies which were likewise costly to maintain with Guam’s environmental conditions:

Here in a tropical climate where wet periods covering several months regularly obtain, and with an even-higher atmospheric humidity, deterioration of agricultural implements rapidly results. A constant salt-laden sea breeze also plays an important part in accelerating the usual process of oxidation of steel and iron tools. These conditions existing in Guam tend to make necessary complete shelter for all farm tools and machinery.<sup>253</sup>

Other challenges included the presence of insect pests and the lack of sufficient work animals which were locally used for purposes like bull cart transportation.<sup>254</sup> The station’s introduced crop experiments also failed as they were either too ambitious and/or unsuited for Guam’s climate and unique environmental conditions.

The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station’s expansion project contributed to its own demise, causing “great distance from source[s] of supplies” not aided by the “infrequency of transportation.”<sup>255</sup> New construction projects ended up taking more time away from experimental work and routine observations throughout the villages:

The construction of a seed and general laboratory building, a forage building, and residences for station laborers and staff; the installation of a sewer system; the erection of new fences; and the repair of roads constitute some of the more important station improvements needed at present.<sup>256</sup>

---

<sup>253</sup>J.B. Thompson, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1911,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912, 8.

<sup>254</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 6.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>256</sup> 7 C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 7.

U.S. Congressional appropriation decreases also affected the administration's ability to secure mainland-based personnel needed to oversee its various projects. Funding cuts also resulted in the lack of sufficient equipment, materials, and field labor:<sup>257</sup>

Owing to the small amounts of funds allowed and the large number of lines of work demanding attention, the obtaining of definite results under any one project has necessarily required a comparatively long period of time.<sup>258</sup>

Local station agents also complained about the ill treatment Guam received in comparison to state experiment stations which had access to facilities and equipment at their respective state colleges. While other insular stations were also said to have received help from their local governments "in the way of land, buildings, and other equipment" at the time of their establishment, "the Guam station had no such assistance... All buildings, land, and equipment were acquired only through expenditure from the station's regular appropriation."<sup>259</sup>

Another complaint by Guam station agents was the lack of transportation facilities "that [could] be relied upon to carry the island products regularly and directly to a good market."<sup>260</sup> The U.S. Army transport called at Guam once a month on their outward run from San Francisco to Manila, but it did not stop in Guam on its return trip. In Guam, the ship dropped of a limited amount of provisions and other necessities carried from San Francisco and Honolulu, but it did not allow for the transport of products from Guam to Manila such as copra. This hindered the local government's attempts to secure external markets:

In the absence of other shipping means, provision by which the island's products could be shipped to Manila by United States Army transports would place them upon a market where keep competition would insure better prices, and better prices could not fail to encourage the development of the copra and other agricultural industries.<sup>261</sup>

---

<sup>257</sup> "Chamorro People Plead for Retention of Agricultural Experiment Station," *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932), 436.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> J.B. Thompson, "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1911," Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912, 7.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

The 1911 report of the experiment station considered this a major handicap, stating, “The monthly cargo of supplies discharged at Guam by the transports during the past year have ranged from about 150 to about 450 tons, and the space thus made vacant between Guam and Manila would be sufficient to carry, at a very conservative estimate, three times the amount of copra now exported from the island.”<sup>262</sup>

In addition to these environmental, geographical, and external factors, Chamorro agency likewise affected the outcomes of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. Chamorro proximity to colonial station agents should not imply wholesale appropriation of the institution’s methods and values. While the station undermined Chamorro farming knowledge, some Chamorros conversely disregarded the information circulated by the institution. Selective cooperation and cases of theft of station property further demonstrate the range of indigenous responses toward the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. As evident in the case of the coconut growers, Chamorros appropriated and applied what they found useful to their particular enterprises and ignored other supposedly data-backed recommendations. In refusing to plant, measure, or weight copra based on the station’s requirements, Chamorros essentially operated according to their own notions of time, space, and economy.

The persistence of unpaid communal labor further demonstrates the resiliency of *chenchule*’ and other cultural practices and values at a time of national and global economic instability. Arguably, it is through the upholding of *kustumbren Chamorro* that Chamorros made it through such times of adversity. Interviews with *manåmko*’ (elders) of the pre-war generation attest to the resiliency of subsistence farming at the time, which allowed average Chamorro families to distance themselves from administrative anxieties over food scarcity.

---

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 13. Poultry Plant, Guam Agricultural Experiment Station.** A.C. Hartenbower, "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1914," Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915, insert between 8-9.

## CHAPTER 4

### EN/GENDERED SPACES: AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS AT HOME AND SCHOOL

In May of 1936, Guam patrons flooded the grounds of the government plaza in the capital of Agaña. Farmers' Market operations had been suspended for the three-day Guam Agricultural, Industrial and Educational Fair in order to house a variety of island produce exhibits by local farmers.<sup>263</sup> Floats paraded around, each representing a specific development project associated with a certain village or entity. Machanao's float was in the shape of a large bamboo chicken house and was accompanied by several boys demonstrating how to properly care for laying hens and how to sort and pack eggs for market. Inarajan's float featured a model of the village's dam, projected new school building, and reservoir. Barrigada, on the other hand, featured a large ear of Barrigada corn that served as the backdrop for the Princess of the village.

The work of women – categorized as “household arts” and inclusive of weaving, cooking, sewing, embroidery, and canning – were displayed in a large room of the Leary School building and also served as the theme of the Department of Education float. *The Guam Recorder* commented that such displays were “evidence of the ability of the Chamorro women in all kinds of needle work.”<sup>264</sup> Conversely, young boys manned an exhibit in the Post Office Building for the Boys' and Girls' Agricultural Clubs, displaying their produce and demonstrating modern farming and packing methods. Other educational activities for boys were also depicted on the floats of the school districts of Agaña.

The Guam Fair of 1936 was the successor of the 1934 Guam Fair and others as far back as 1917. By 1934, the fair was intended to be “more entertaining and more educational than ever” considering the greater role of the administration in the planning process.<sup>265</sup>

---

<sup>263</sup> “The Guam Fair,” *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 144 (March 1936): 324

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> “1934 Guam Fair 1934,” *The Guam Recorder* 11, no. 23 (June 1934): 48-51.

Various departments of the naval government were heavily involved– the Health Department, Department of Education, Military Department (Guam Militia), Police Department, Bank of Guam, U.S. Navy, U.S. Marine Corps, Red Cross and even Pan American Airways. Patrons were also excited to see the exhibits of the newly created Department of Agriculture. The purpose of the Guam Fairs was to promote “health, education, and commerce, thrift and community spirit.”<sup>266</sup>



**Figure 14. Portion of Cattle Exhibit, Guam Industrial Fair, 1917.** C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1917,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918. Insert between pages 8 and 9.

In the eyes of the naval government, the onus of Guam’s advancement fell on the shoulders of every subject of the colony. Thus, specific development projects were designed to increase the participation of not just Chamorro men, but Chamorro women and youth in the growing market economy. This chapter investigates gendered farming initiatives within school-supervised grounds and domestic spaces. “By and large, [American] notions of gender dictated that girls would be primarily relegated to spaces and economies of domesticity while

---

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.



boys would be trained primarily for careers in manual labor.”<sup>267</sup> Thus, events such as the Guam Fair worked not only to educate the public on western economic practices but inscribe western notions of gender and American patriotism onto Chamorro bodies of all ages.

### *The Rising Generation*

In addition to claiming to be a progressive “economical government”, the naval administration prided itself on being an “educational government.”<sup>268</sup> Studying the history of American colonial education on Guam, Chamorro scholar Robert Underwood evaluates the role school policies, activities, and curriculum played in cultural change. Underwood states that early American officials brought to the island a reforming zeal in which “order cleanliness, education, and knowledge of English all seemed to be part of the same process to many naval officials.”<sup>269</sup> Combined with paternalistic governing, the reformed school system was to become “the venue for cultural transformation and regeneration in Guam before World War II.”<sup>270</sup>

During the early naval era, education became compulsory for the first time. Children twelve years or younger as well as voluntary students (pupils beyond twelve years of age) were required by law to pay a fine of fifteen cents for every day or part of a day absent from school.<sup>271</sup> These policies caused disruptions in the daily lives of Chamorros as most families lived a predominantly subsistence lifestyle and expected children to assist their elders at home and on the ranch. Early American officials, however, believed that such a “primitive” lifestyle staggered children’s development, stating, “It is regretted that a great majority of the school children do not enjoy the advantages of advanced education since their parents find it

---

<sup>267</sup> James Perez Viernes, “Negotiating Manhood: Chamorro Masculinities and U.S. Military Colonialism in Guam, 1898-1941” (PhD diss., University of Hawai’i, 2015), 98.

<sup>268</sup> Robert Underwood, “American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam” (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1987), 116.

<sup>269</sup> Underwood, 118.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>271</sup> Nieves M. Flores, “Department of Education: Compulsory Education in Guam,” *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. (August 1924): 9-10.

necessary to withdraw them from school before they have completed the studies of the elementary grade. It is therefore the object of the present Superintendent that the lower grades should receive every possible attention.”<sup>272</sup>

In response to criticism against compulsory education, the naval government urged the public to consider the “economic factor involved in education.”<sup>273</sup> Schools were a necessary investment as they provided to those “pitifully ignorant...the fundamentals of industrial and commercial economies.”<sup>274</sup> In other words, education was essential in creating a productive working class:

Ignorance and illiteracy among the workers always produce waste, inefficiency and loss; the old theory that low wages due to ignorance and helplessness of the workers mean low costs has been thoroughly exploded. Now every well-informed executive know that low costs are to be had by promoting efficiency, increasing production, raising quality of product, maintaining high standards of production by elimination waste of time, effort and material.<sup>275</sup>

Thus, through an American education system, Chamorros could be molded into industrious workers at an early age and contribute to a society literate in English and American economic values.

Chamorro historian James Perez Viernes looks more deeply into the role of pre-war English language policies in solidifying growing socio-economic class differentials.<sup>276</sup> Acquiring the English language was directly linked to a higher standard of living and favorable increases in population:

Along with such increase will come further and enforced economic development. With economic development will come more of the real pleasures of life. Through English will come a knowledge of fair play and a keen sense of honor such as the progenitors of Americans had at the time of the origin of language such as is practiced by the American nation at the present time. With a knowledge of English under

---

<sup>272</sup> “Conditions of the Public Schools,” *Guam News Letter* 5, no. 5 (November 1913): 12.

<sup>273</sup> “Editorial (Education),” *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. 6 (August 1924):2.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Viernes. “Negotiating Manhood”, 88.

American tutorship will come a natural love for labor and industry by those who even come to think themselves educated.<sup>277</sup>

English language acquisition was also projected to help facilitate the growth of Guam's agricultural industry, specifically, because of agriculture's accessibility to most Chamorros. Should the English language flourish, Guam was projected to "become one of the garden spots of the world."<sup>278</sup>

In August of 1941, the Department of Education released its vision for the younger generation of Guam in response to existing economic conditions:

Careful attention is needed in order to make the pupils realize the great benefit derived from the soil. No country can exist without agriculture. Here in Guam where the people are naturally the product of the soil, the proper attitude on the part of the rising generation must be inculcated. Favorable attitudes can be secured when the schools develop a situation in which the pupils really and truly believe that the soil is the source of all human existence, and that only by applying themselves properly can they hope to improve the economic situation in Guam.<sup>279</sup>

*The Guam Recorder* supported this vision and began publishing farming information specifically for youth<sup>280</sup> in English, emphasized as the "the commercial language of the world."<sup>281</sup> Originally produced by the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station, these publications intended to assist in recruiting members for the boys' and girls' agricultural clubs. The station hoped that such publications would serve as go-to reading material for those wanting to learn about modern farming. Still, while literacy increased, the naval government complained about Chamorro children's tendencies to compartmentalize their

---

<sup>277</sup> "Department of Education: English in Schools of Guam," *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. 6 (September 1924): 8-10.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> "Department of Education: English in Schools of Guam," *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. 6 (September 1924): 8-10.

<sup>280</sup> A.I. Cruz, "Agricultural Experiment Station Notes: The Home Garden," *The Guam Recorder* 7, no.1 (April 1930): 3.

<sup>281</sup> "Department of Education: English in Schools of Guam," *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. 6 (September 1924): 8-10.

languages – English remained the language of school and Chamorro was continuously spoken at home.<sup>282</sup>

### Planting the Seeds

The naval government believed that through school enrollment, children could be “saved from forming bad habits which may lead them to a destructive life in their manhood and womanhood.”<sup>283</sup> These “bad habits” were in reference to those values, customs, and practices associated with *kustumbren Chamorro* that sometimes impeded the navy’s economic agenda. Viernes states that, “Attempts to train Chamorro children in ways that would be useful to the Navy were largely guided by American notions of gender that determined for Chamorro boys and girls their appropriate places in the milieu of rapid Americanization.”<sup>284</sup>

To “save” the children from such detriments, administrators worked to provide them with their own space to *grow*. I employ the word *grow* in both a literal and figurative sense in that it was believed that “the boy or girl who [had] never had a chance to ‘tinker’ with a plot of arable land [had] been deprived of his or her rightful opportunity.”<sup>285</sup> With this philosophy, the Department of Education expanded its program in gardening and theoretical and practical agriculture in all existing schools.<sup>286</sup> This project was made possible in the capital of Agaña via the cooperation of owners of vacant lots. Many of the lots were reported to have been lying idle and described as “not particularly beautifying”.<sup>287</sup> In support of the school garden curriculum, thirteen gardens were made available in Agaña and sixteen in the outlying schools.

---

<sup>282</sup> “Editorial (Education),” *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. 6 (August 1924):2.

<sup>283</sup> Nieves M. Flores, “Department of Education: Compulsory Education in Guam,” *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. (August 1924): 9-10.

<sup>284</sup> Viernes, 98.

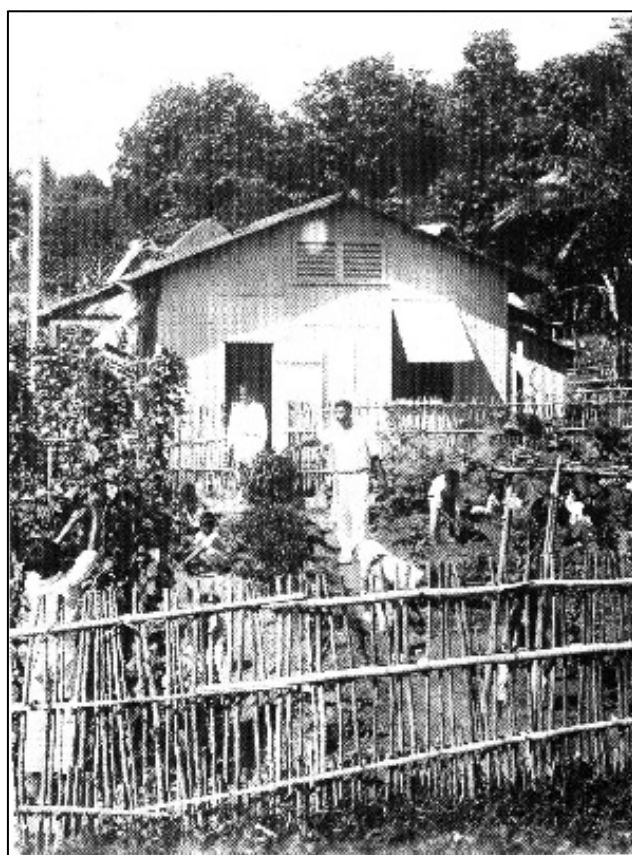
<sup>285</sup> A.I. Cruz, “Agricultural Experiment Station Notes: The Home Garden,” *The Guam Recorder* vol. no, (April 1930): 3.

<sup>286</sup> “Department of Education: School Gardens,” *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. (August 1924): 9.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

Students and teachers were required to build “chicken proof fences of tangen-tangan poles and posts and of bamboo or wire supports.”<sup>288</sup> Each student was then given a plot of one yard by three yards long and was expected to plant seeds distributed by the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. As noted in the previous chapter, these seeds were of varieties commonly grown in home gardens on the continent. While it is not clear as to how much girls participated in the garden project, it was common for them to engage in weaving, sewing, and other activities associated with the “household arts.”

The garden plot project was more heavily geared toward teaching young boys that farming was predominantly a male occupation. The arrangement of individual plots allowed for the “proper grading of boys on their work and the distribution of honors and prizes.”<sup>289</sup> Thus, the classroom, or, in this case, the garden plot, was viewed as the space through which Chamorro children could be nurtured into not only productive workers, but proper men and women as defined by western gender constructs. Such systematic forms of surveillance pressured Chamorro youth into concealing knowledge and behaviors



**Figure 15. Mangilao School Principal Francisco Q. Sanchez, Umatac, supervising students at work in the garden.** Sanchez Photo Collection. Pedro C. Sanchez, *Guahan = Guam: The History of Our Island* (Agaña, GU: Sanchez Publishing House, 1988), 153.

---

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

that conflicted with what was taught through this gendered curriculum.

*To the Ranch, Young Folks!*<sup>290</sup>

While the school garden curriculum was adopted in schools throughout the island, it is important to note that the agricultural curriculum was generally geared toward rural communities living beyond the urban capital of Agaña where schools conversely placed greater emphasis on the teaching of “industries”. Viernes states that “Although formal training... was largely prevalent in the more densely populated areas of Hagåtña, even the smallest schools in the rural villages emphasized agricultural instruction to a considerable extent.”<sup>291</sup>

In November of 1913, it was reported that new schools had been built in the northern village of Yigo and the central village of Ordot, and that new schools were to be erected in the southern villages of Yonga, Umatac, and Finagualoc.<sup>292</sup> Considering compulsory



**Figure 16. Boys and Girls Club Building.** *Guampedia*. [www.guampedia.com/naval-era-gallery/4/](http://www.guampedia.com/naval-era-gallery/4/)

<sup>290</sup> Title of an article in *The Guam Recorder*. “To the Ranch Young Folks,” *The Guam Recorder* 9, no. 7 (October 1932): 110.

<sup>291</sup> Rosa Roberto Carter, “Education in Guam to 1950: Island and Personal History,” *Guam History: Perspectives*, Vol. 1 Lee D. Carter, William L. Wuerch, and Rosa Roerto Carter, eds. (Mangilao: Micronesia Area Research Center, 1997), 189 as cited in James Perez Viernes, “Negotiating Manhood: Chamorro Masculinities and U.S. Military Colonialism in Guam, 1898-1941” (PhD diss., University of Hawai’i, 2015), 99-100.

<sup>292</sup> “Conditions of the Public Schools,” *Guam News Letter* 5, no. 5 (November 1913): 12.

education demanded much from families who lived a predominantly subsistence lifestyle, new schools were projected to “greatly benefit the people of those districts, as they are now enabled to permanently live on their ranches and give proper attention to their plantations.”<sup>293</sup> Such developments attest to what Viernes states was the prioritization of “industrial and agricultural training for Chamorro girls and boys over education geared toward building their academic aptitude.”<sup>294</sup>

The Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Clubs were projects conducted by the Extension Division of the Department of Agriculture in cooperation with the Department of Education, the Executive Department, the District Schools, and officials of the local communities.<sup>295</sup> Any boy or girl residing in the outlying school districts, whether in school or not, and between the ages of ten and twenty, were eligible for membership in the clubs. The clubs were thus partly developed “to induce the boys and girls to remain on the farm and offset the tendency of the people to live in town.”<sup>296</sup> The navy’s “back to the ranch” movement was also projected to help combat unemployment amongst young men and the loitering of “able bodies”.

Following similar models to the Adult Demonstration projects supervised under the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station<sup>297</sup>, the Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Clubs were intended to introduce “improved farm practices”<sup>298</sup> and “the value and the means of securing expert training”.<sup>299</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, the cause of immense colonial frustration was the lack of interest by Chamorros to take advantage of the technologies, resources, and expert advice offered by the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. Assuming

---

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Viernes, 99.

<sup>295</sup> “Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Club: What They Are,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. 8 (November 1938): 28.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

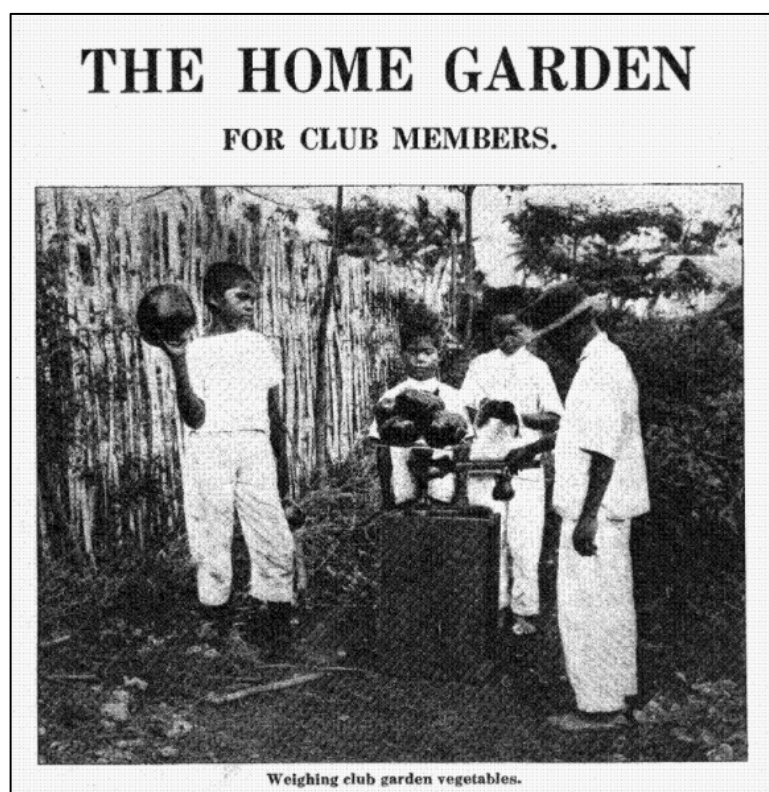
<sup>297</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Extension Notes from the U.S. Agricultural Experimentation Station,” *The Guam Recorder* 6, no. 11 (February 1930): 212.

<sup>298</sup> “Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Club: What They Are,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. 8 (November 1938): 28.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

that the children would be more complacent, the navy believed boys and girls could eventually “demonstrate to the community better farm practices”.<sup>300</sup>

The space in which to apply these skills was a home garden project managed by the Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Clubs. In February of 1930, it was reported that one hundred eighty-five home projects were established in the central and southern districts of Guam.<sup>301</sup> The youth were taught “approved methods” by agents of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station and monitored by a Garden Supervisor working cooperatively with the Station and school teachers. Home gardens were to coincide with other activities supervised under the Agricultural Clubs. Considering they only had a one session school day, pupils were expected to work independently, using their time wisely to tend to their gardens and take interest in other clubs. Their progress – tracked through the progress of their respective clubs – were to be reported at the local district fairs as well as the general Fair held in Agaña in March.<sup>302</sup>



**Figure 17. Weighing club garden vegetables.** Cover of “The Home Garden For Club Members,” *Guam Agricultural Experiment Station, Extension Circular No. 2*, Under the Supervision of the States Relations Service, Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

<sup>301</sup> C.W. Edwards, “Extension Notes from the U.S. Agricultural Experimentation Station,” *The Guam Recorder* 6 no. 11 (February 1930): 212.

<sup>302</sup> “Department of Education Notes: Club Work,” *The Guam Recorder* 3, no. 6 (September 1926): 153.



Anthropologist Nicholas Thomas notes how regulation of a particular policy domain – in this case, agriculture – is “at once a colonizing project in itself and a vehicle for more general surveillance and intervention.”<sup>303</sup> Thus, while at the surface, these educational projects appeared to be geared toward teaching the youth modern farming methods, they also aimed to solidify Chamorro allegiances to the colonial state. This is evident in the pledge of the Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Clubs:

I pledge:

1. My heart to clearer thinking,
2. My heart to greater loyalty,
3. My hand to greater service,
4. My health to better living, to my club, my district, and my Island home.<sup>304</sup>

The Agricultural Boys’ and Girls’ Clubs were “to train farm boys and girls in rural or farm leadership”, provide “the unlimited opportunity for developing character”, and “develop boys and girls into better home-makers and better farmers, and thus better Guam citizens.”<sup>305</sup>

Responsible citizenship could thus be demonstrated through one’s contributions to the island economy. In essence, each club functioned as a sort of micro-industry in which children could become familiar with the handling, packaging, and selling of certain crops. The Copra Club, for example, was intended to “stimulate interest in the production of more and better copra”<sup>306</sup> and help “establish a habit a thrift among the club members”.<sup>307</sup> The Corn Club was to “encourage more planting of this useful staple crop”<sup>308</sup> and “teach the value and use of corn”.<sup>309</sup> Among the objectives of the Pig Club was to “encourage the bigger

---

<sup>303</sup> Thomas, 107.

<sup>304</sup> “Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Club: What They Are,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. 8 (November 1938): 28.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

production of pork locally”<sup>310</sup> and to “teach the principles of manufacturing by-products of pork”.<sup>311</sup> Furthermore, some projects were intended to address the demands of the market, such as the demand for coffee:

In some of the communities coffee is very scarce. It is in these communities that the planting of coffee has been stressed. The Department of Education is proud in taking the lead in this particular project, especially in communities where practically no coffee is grown. The youngsters under the able leadership of school principals and club leaders are showing the older farmers a pace that is hard to equal.<sup>312</sup>

Progress reports stated that “the youngsters have fallen into the spirit of modernizing their methods of farming”<sup>313</sup> to the point where they were “outstripped their parents in agricultural pursuits as evidence in their enthusiasm and activities in connection with Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Clubs.”<sup>314</sup>

By 1934, it was reported that the 16 existing schools in the rural districts had “a membership of 540 boys and 60 girls.”<sup>315</sup> Among the successful pig club members were Tomas A. Fejeran, Sus Fejeran, and Sus Barcinas of Inarajan.<sup>316</sup> Sus Camacho of Barrigada was also known for his outstanding garden work and attendance “at the public market every Saturday where he finds a good sale for his produce.”<sup>317</sup> Likewise, Sus Rodriguez of Sinajaña and the sons of Colonel Torres at Piti – Esteban, Jose, and Daniel – were recorded to have sold “their products in the neighborhood at a profit.”<sup>318</sup> On some occasions, profits would be used for club ice cream parties at the close of school “to keep up the club spirit.”<sup>319</sup> The naval government’s agenda aside, Chamorro youth were consumed with the little pleasures some

---

<sup>310</sup> Ibid.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

<sup>312</sup> L.T. Siguenza, “Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Clubs,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. 11 (February 1939): 18-19.

<sup>313</sup> “Editorial (Education),” *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. 6 (August 1924):2.

<sup>314</sup> “Progress in Guam Under Governor Alexander,” *The Guam Recorder* Eleventh Year, no. 127 (October 1934): 146.

<sup>315</sup> Boys and Girls Clubs,” *The Guam Recorder* Tenth Year, no. 119. (February 1934): 194.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

extra change in their pockets provided. Participation in agricultural clubs also allowed them to build comradery and strengthen their resource networks with other club members – something that was arguably already inherent in the Chamorro cultural context through practices of *chenchule*’ and *inafa’maolek*.

*For the Joses, Juans, and Vicentes*

It was also noted how club members were “all making money, adding to their bank accounts as well as helping the family budget.”<sup>320</sup> The naval government thus hoped that by providing an opportunity for “the earning of money by boys and girls”<sup>321</sup>, they could transform Chamorro family economies. The home garden was one particular project in which “the whole family can be interested in and help care for.”<sup>322</sup> The project thus worked to reinforce western notions of the nuclear family and gender roles.

Colonial authorities asserted that to be male and mobile was to “abandon” one’s farm or garden and, therefore, to “abandon” one’s family:

Wouldn’t he gain much if he had kept his family and stayed with them at his ranch... that he might utilize the services of his grown-up boys and girls three months during vacation and every afternoon while attending to school to help him in his daily tasks? And wouldn’t it be much healthier if the family stayed out in the open? A good rancher should see to his flock first even before he eats his own breakfast.<sup>323</sup>

Furthermore, to take on any other form of work besides manual labor – including work on the ranch– was to be considered bad judgement and effeminate. Chamorro men with “jobs as house-boys, cooks, and servants” were often ridiculed for “doing a women’s work when they should be producers, and available for productive enterprise.”<sup>324</sup> Viernes reminds us of Chamorro gendered realities, stating, “This is not to say that Chamorro boys weren’t already

---

<sup>320</sup> L.T. Siguenza, “Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Clubs,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. 11 (February 1939): 18-19.

<sup>321</sup> “Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Club: What They Are,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. 8 (November 1938): 28.

<sup>322</sup> A.I. Cruz, “Agricultural Experiment Station Notes: The Home Garden,” *The Guam Recorder* 7, no. 1 (April 1930): 3.

<sup>323</sup> “Illusion Versus Facts,” *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 4 (July 1935): 93-94.

<sup>324</sup> “Looking into the Future,” *The Guam Recorder* 5. (September 1928): 123.

being engineered to view manual labor as part of their socially constructed gender reality, or that expectations within the Chamorro cultural framework did not prioritize such labor for males. The Navy's gendered curriculum, however, drew fixed and clear lines between what was acceptable for boys and girls in the realm of labor and contributions."

If not employed, it was said that "many of them [were] depending upon their mothers and sisters for partial support."<sup>325</sup> Indeed, the naval government hoped to combat what they articulated as free handouts by family members and even government officials. The Farm Loan Fund, for example, was intended to "extend credit in limited amounts for the development of agricultural products to those who prove a real endeavor in the reduction of imports."<sup>326</sup> At all costs, it was to reject any "desired amount, to Jose, Juan, and Vicente, just as they come along without asking what use they are going to make of it or whether they will ever do a lick of work for it or even pay it back or an keep up the interest."<sup>327</sup>

What may have been perceived as free handouts by Chamorro women and other relatives to Chamorro men in need could have been common demonstrations of family support or *chenchule*' offerings. Rather than considering the interdependency of Chamorro society, some colonial officials instead pointed to such behavior as reflective of the hyper-dependency on the administrative government. One article in *The Guam Recorder* went as far as to deny the paternalistic nature of the entities' economic relationship, referring to it instead as "maternalism."<sup>328</sup> The article stated, "The United States has mothered the islanders to such an extent that they really are slipping backward commercially instead of progressing." Meant to be a blow to the Chamorro community, these comments reveal the gendered discourse of

---

<sup>325</sup> Ibid.

<sup>326</sup> "Agricultural Opportunity," *The Guam Recorder* 11, no. 9 (December 1934): 249.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid.

<sup>328</sup> Brown, Park, "Small Hope for Guam to Become Self Supporting Island Lives on Navy Funds, Natives Mothered Too Much by U.S.," *The Guam Recorder* 3, no. 9 (December 1926), 241.

economic development. According to such prescriptions, a masculine society produced a progressive economy while an effeminate one resulted in a stagnant or poor economy.

*What Have We Done for Her Stomach?*

Projects geared toward Chamorro girls and women were likewise modeled after gendered projects in the United States. While men were expected to produce products of the soil, women were to play supportive roles, such as assist in the phases that followed harvest. This including preparing meals with produce, canning or jarring food to create a stock pile, or helping prepare produce for distribution and selling.

Restriction to the confines of domesticity, however, was not in the playbook of every Chamorro woman. Like Chamorro men, Chamorro women faced constant scrutiny by colonial agents who derided them for living in town and away from their husbands for long periods of time. As noted in chapter two, social obligations – such as tending to the sick, caring for children, or assisting women in labor – dictated Chamorro mobility. However, in the eyes of the colonial government, failure to confine oneself to the four walls of the ranch house was considered neglectful to one's family as this article in the *Guam News Letter* suggested:

No man can continue to work properly if he was undernourished. No farmer however after working hard in the field under this blazing sun will feel like attending to the cooking of a proper meal when he comes home. He will probably take a few bites of cooked taro, (sune), and drink with it a bamboo full of tuba. If he would attend to the cooking of proper meals he could find no time to work his ranch as it ought to be worked.<sup>329</sup>

The article went so far as to attribute the cause of inappropriate Chamorro male behavior and even a man's demise to his wife's "neglect". This is evident in the statement, "A wife who refuses to live on the ranch with her husband is really stealing from him several years of his life by forcing to starve or take up the tuba habit." Contradictorily, the article went on to

---

329

assert the right of men to engage in alcohol consumption, stating, “We do not mean to say that a man ought not to drink a drop now and then. He may do so if he likes. But it is harmful for every man to drink tuba instead of properly breakfasting, or instead of having a properly cooked lunch or supper.”

This reduction of women’s capacity to “responsible roles” is a discourse all too commonly associated with historical representations of Micronesian women. The late Teresia Teaiwa analyzed similar gender paradigms in the Chuuk context, pointing to the ways in which Micronesian men internalize western notions of masculinity and patriarchy. She acknowledged how “socially men are held as ‘higher’ than women”,<sup>330</sup> who are conversely expected to respect and obey men. Entrusted to take care of the family, it is considered inappropriate for women to consume alcohol. This confinement to “responsible roles” thus perpetuates the notion that “men are at liberty to engage in destructive behavior.”<sup>331</sup> Despite the obstacles preventing them from voicing their opinions publicly, “Chuuk women are mandated to maintain social stability” and thus wield a specific type of power.

Reductionist attitudes on the part of Chamorro men must also be considered here. In 1936, *The Guam Recorder* published an essay by an author identified as the “fifth member of Congress”. Within the essay, the congressman suggested “a drive or crusade [to] be inaugurated encouraging the women to accompany their farmer husband and children to the farm.”<sup>332</sup> He went on to say that “It will also be highly desirable if the importance and dignity of farm work be emphasized at this campaign and that young girls should not look at farm

---

<sup>330</sup> Teresia K. Teaiwa, “Microwomen: U.S. Colonialism and Micronesian Women Activists” in *Pacific History: Papers from the 8<sup>th</sup> Pacific History Association Conference* (Mangilao, Guam: University of Guam Press & Micronesian Area Research Center, 1992), 129-130.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> “Prize Essay Second Prize How to Keep Farmers on the Farm,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. (August 1936): 14-16.

work with disdain.”<sup>333</sup> The occupation preferences for women varied from individual to individual and were largely influenced by class. Educated women, like men, did not limit themselves to the farm and wanted to explore other career options that would allow them to advance in this new society.

Chamorro men were often the ones acknowledged for recruiting women for projects aligning with the Naval Government Agricultural Policy. In 1935, for example, Commissioner of the Municipality of Dededo Ignacio A. Santos was credited for developing a small truck garden plot project in his village. The truck gardens, however, were said to be *owned* by his daughters Maria Santos and Rosario S. Santos as well as the “industrious daughters” of the incumbent Commissioner, Rosa Guerrero Lujan and Paz Maria Lujan. The project being deemed a great success, the

Division of Agriculture hop[ed] to encourage adoption of the Dededo Girl Agricultural Movement among the people of the other districts and municipalities to the end that such products as may be obtained from such truck gardens be used to provide immediate family needs and that the products obtained from the big farm lands of the men folks be offered to supply the general demand of the public at large, through the Public Market and through the Naval Cold Storage.

While there may have certainly been cases in which Chamorro men (and women) inscribed gendered notions of labor onto community projects, I do not wish to disregard cooperative work within these spaces. I also propose we read against the grain of colonial texts that work to sustain the invisibility of Chamorro women in Guam History. Furthermore, I propose that we consider the likely possibilities of active participation and leadership on the part of Chamorro women within these arenas.

Identified by colonial officials as “one other obstacle in the way of progress” to economic development, Chamorro women, like Chamorro men, engaged in endeavors that re-affirmed their contributing roles to their families and communities. Stories such as that

---

<sup>333</sup> “Prize Essay Second Prize How to Keep Farmers on the Farm,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. (August 1936): 14-16.

pertaining to the pig owner featured in chapter two attests to the varied occupations women engaged in, including farm labor. Although far and few, some women were credited for their contributions to local projects. Josefina Flores, for example, was known to be a very active member of the Inarajan Women's Garden Club, ordering equipment through the Extension Service for farmers in her district.<sup>334</sup> Furthermore, Maria L.G. Mendiola and her assistant, Josefina Yamanaka, were praised "for their earnest and commendable work" – having "stimulated the children's work and interest in large scale poultry raising" at the Gilmer School in Talofofo.<sup>335</sup>



**Figure 18. Pineapple Field.** Guampedia. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/guampedia/albums/72157623544967207/page2>.

In closing of this gender analysis, we turn to the words of Chamorro economist Anthony Leon Guerrero who reminds us that Chamorro labor was instead divided along family lines:

Every able-bodied person had their own role to perform in the community. Those who were better at fishing would gather food from the sea. Those who had a talent for growing plants would farm. Those who could hunt acquired fresh meats... Others

---

<sup>334</sup> "Rural News from the Southern Districts," *The Guam Recorder* 18, no. 1 (April 1941): 24, 25.

<sup>335</sup> "Boys' and Girls' Agricultural Club," *The Guam Recorder* vol, no. 31.



engaged in useful activities, such as weaving mats, preparing salt, and tending to the children and elders...<sup>336</sup>

Thus, despite the fact that the colonial government relegated them to spaces of domesticity, Chamorro women found ways to infiltrate spaces deemed solely for men. Whether in the home or within community projects, Chamorro women maintained their roles as active participants within decision-making processes that concerned their families and communities.

### In “Good Hands”

Here, we depart from analyzing the nature of the selected gendered agricultural projects to discuss Chamorro agency within them. Considering that the naval government did not have the budget to employ off-island “agricultural experts”, they depended on the limited manpower of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station to help monitor village activities. Consequently, the outlying districts – particularly those in southern Guam – relied heavily on Chamorro community members to help carry out development projects. The number of reports submitted by local supervisors on the progress of agriculture in the southern districts attests to the vibrancy of the enterprise in this particular region. One may attribute this partly to ecology as the southern villages were known for the effective production of various products: Inarajan was known for rice growing; Malesso for tomatoes; and Umatac for corn. However, we can also question whether additional factors served as stimulants for the region’s productivity.

Another factor could be Chamorro class dynamics, which tend to be an underexplored topic in Guam historiography. As noted by the late Jose M. Torres, southern villagers referred to people of the capital as “gi Hagåtña” while they identified as “gi sengsong”.<sup>337</sup> “However, there are a growing number of Guam scholars highlighting complexities beyond class

---

<sup>336</sup> Anthony Leon Guerrero, “The Economic Development of Guam,” *Kinalamten Pulitikât: Siñenten I Chamorro/Issues in Guam’s Political Development The Chamorro Perspective*, Hale’-ta series (Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 84.

<sup>337</sup> Viernes, *Negotiating Manhood*, 126-129.

distinctions between Chamorros residing in rural areas and those in the capital. Class transcends regional boundaries and thus the “rural” label inscribed on geographies like the “southern districts” or “outlying districts” should not imply a homogenous peasantry – a notion perpetuated in the canonical narrative. Even within southern villages were communities comprised of well-to-do landowners as well as the average farmer. Thus, while class dynamics may have shaped individual responses to colonial projects, I suggest that, to some degree, a regional identity was cultivated and worked to foster comradery amongst those with common economic interests. This energy is evident amongst the farmers and organizers of micro-village industries as well as those participating in projects such as home gardens and the Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Clubs.

On one front, southern Chamorros were combating the stigma associated with Chamorros living further away from colonial headquarters. Chamorros working in the educational system, for example, were told to “use their influence” to encourage parental participation, “particularly [those of] the outlying schools.”<sup>338</sup> Secondly, Chamorros placed in leadership capacities were also measured against foreign agricultural “experts” whom the government employed to supervise and intervene when its budget allowed. While other Chamorro scholars have written about how the capabilities of Chamorro politicians were constantly doubted by colonial officials, I would like to highlight how those who took on leadership capacities within the realm of agriculture were no exception to this kind of treatment:

If Guam is behind in many activities of progress today, it is due principally to the lack of proper organization and leadership. Nowhere is this more true than in the farming industry...The farmers themselves must take the leadership instead of forever looking to the government for aid and relief... It is about time the Chamorro people should wake up and depend upon their own efforts, initiative, and leadership for the building up of their industries.<sup>339</sup>

---

<sup>338</sup> Ibid.

<sup>339</sup> “Organization and Leadership,” *The Guam Recorder* 6, no. 2 (May 1929): 24, 35.

Nicholas Thomas highlights similar discourses in the case of 19<sup>th</sup> century Fiji where the British took a segregationist approach when dealing with Fijian elite. Thomas states, “The emphasis was on the difference between European and essentialized African or Fijian cultures, which were not to be subsumed to a European model but sustained their distinctiveness.”<sup>340</sup> Aside from the occasional pat on the back, notions of race and cultural superiority worked to reinforce the power structure entangling both colonial and Chamorro leadership.

Thus, it can be said that for individuals participating more directly within the government’s agricultural projects, there were larger stakes involved beyond profit-making from the sale of crops and livestock. Garden Supervisors and other indigenous community leaders arguably had something to prove and navigated the colonial system with confidence in their expertise. Indigenous Garden Supervisors were in charge of “organizing the school Agriculture Clubs” and accompanied visiting Extension Agents. Like Extension Agents, they could provide “criticisms and instructions pertaining to the club work.”<sup>341</sup> In some cases, the Extension Agent was Chamorro. In the 1930s, Frank Taitano was known to hold “regular meetings of [the] clubs, suggesting improvements, instructing the pupils and encouraging them in their work.”<sup>342</sup>

On some occasions, the club members themselves were encouraged to “observe and make criticisms regarding the manner in which other members were conducting their work.”<sup>343</sup> Such intrusive procedures did not comply with Chamorro cultural practices in that it was culturally inappropriate to openly cast judgement except in certain situations where the relationships between the parties involved allowed for it. On one level, this may be

---

<sup>340</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994): 115.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid.

<sup>342</sup> Boys and Girls Clubs,” *The Guam Recorder* 10, no. 119 (February 1934): 194.

<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

appropriate if coming from close friends, family members, or elder-child such as Garden Supervisor-club member. However, considering that the home gardens were not just products of club members, but were to be reflective of a family as a whole, such “criticism” would have been delivered with greater consideration. Thus, I suggest that while indigenous agents may have adopted certain methods promoted by their American counterparts, they would have been careful not to disrespect families involved in the projects. Publicly shaming others and assuming a “know it all” positionality would’ve been considered *taimamahlao* (shameful) and could’ve generated distrust by the community. Even worse, such behavior could possibly result in the removal of oneself from community leadership positions.

It is also important to note that, in the Chamorro context, there were other factors that were believed to affect the quality and range of farm outputs. Such factors could not be identified simply by observing physical signs evident on a garden plot or farm, but through an understanding of Chamorro epistemology. For example, as noted in chapter two, some Chamorros believed in the interconnectedness between ecology, the human body, and the phases of the moon and tide. Reverence for the human hands, in particular, is highlighted in a 1926 account:

Many of the older natives of Guam object to anyone but themselves touching their fruit trees, they will willingly give oranges, lemons or other fruits away, but they want to pick the fruit themselves for they fear that if one not of the family touches the tree something will happen to it, or its bearing qualities will become less. They also believe that certain persons have a good hand for planting, and during the planting seasons, these people are very much in demand. They will tell you that those who have a good hand for planting, will have more success, all conditions being equal, excepting the phases of the moon and tide, than those who do plant with the moon and tide.<sup>344</sup>

The belief that one’s hands can affect the yield and quality of products of the soil continues to be observed within some Chamorro families today, including mine. The state of health of the

---

<sup>344</sup> “Planting by the Moon and Tide and Superstitions of the Chamorro People,” *The Guam Recorder* 3, no. 9 (December 1926): 245.

person with the special touch could also affect the quality of their produce. Furthermore, *aniti* (spirits) or *taotaomo'na* (spiritual ancestors) intervention – either benevolent or malevolent in kind – can likewise affect the quality of one's products. Thus, Chamorro agricultural agents may have had the added requirement of being well versed in this knowledge before intruding in others' garden spaces.

Community networking thus constituted an important feature of the work of indigenous Garden Supervisors. Meetings with farmers of various districts or crop specialties were common as well as with villagers engaged in school projects:

Meeting of the school children and their parents in all districts have been planned for the purpose of acquainting them with the proposed plans for organization and with the hope of enlisting their full cooperation in the club work.

I thus propose that instead of interpreting Chamorro gatherings as mere informative sessions, we consider the choreography involved in such attempts to reach out to community members of various interests. Undoubtedly, Chamorros in charge of cultivating collective engagement not only had to live up to the colonial administration's expectations but also to those of their community which required observation of cultural protocols.

A number of cooperatives were also reported to have developed organically among village residents with common interests, such as the Malesso Tomato Growers' Association and that of the Inarajan rice growers. The fact that these organizations extended their responsibilities beyond agricultural endeavors to address housing construction, the building of hygiene facilities, the need for woven products, fire prevention and other community needs speaks to village interdependency that pre-dated the establishment of formal agricultural institutions. However, the naval government did not hesitate to credit itself for such collaboration.

In retrospect, the imposition of an American educational system was an ambitious undertaking by the colonial government. Robert Underwood highlights insufficient funding

and a lack of resources as contributing factors to its ineffective features in pre-war Guam. The government was slow in establishing schools beyond the urban center and could not afford to sustain a reliable teaching force. Thus, Guam schools were not managed systematically. This was an unattractive condition for professional American educators and lead the naval government to pull on the help of native teachers appointed amongst “more advanced students.” American educators were eventually added to the force with later reforms.

By the 1920s, efforts were made to “professionalize the system through curriculum reform, teacher training and new administrative practices.” Underwood states that “Although this effort was of short duration, it initiated a process of steady growth toward more “American styles of education which in turn was being made available to increasingly larger segments of the population.” When the budget allowed, some American teachers were hired to join native teachers in their service and school materials were provided for children.

As the government’s educational philosophy shifted to one of more “practical vocational guidance”, greater emphasis was placed on agricultural education. Due to the lack of sufficient resources and manpower, educational agricultural projects in these districts depended largely on Chamorro management, particularly in the southern districts. Transportation constraints also proved to be a hurdle due to the sheer distance between government headquarters and these village projects. The diary of the “Four Horsemen” traveling through the villages of Umatac, Malesso, and Agat attests to this debilitating undertaking:

Chaplain Park accompanied by Mr. O’Brien arrived on the 28<sup>th</sup> and found everything in good condition. They hiked from Merizo to Umatac and back again on that cold and rainy day. About 9:15 the next day, Mr. Hall and Mr. Carbullido (garden supervisor) visited and inspected our school and garden... After inspecting the school they hiked to Agat. A long, long hike of at least nine miles.<sup>345</sup>

---

<sup>345</sup> “Diary of the Four Horsemen,” *The Guam Recorder* 1, no. 5 (July 1924): 6-7.

Furthermore, the sheer number of projects implemented by the Department of Education and the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station was also a lot to oversee and occasionally generated communication difficulties. Agricultural agent L.T. Siguenza once remarked, “If the commissioners in all the other districts will cooperate with their district school principal, the agricultural projects of the schools can be the outstanding achievement of the year.”<sup>346</sup>

Underwood states, “Due to the financial constraints, the individual policies of various governors, the nature of naval administration and the indifference of the populace, public schooling in prewar Guam grew only gradually.”<sup>347</sup> Other factors – including growing disinterest among Chamorro youth – hindered the navy’s agricultural agenda. *National Geographic Magazine* journalist Margaret Higgins once reported, “Unfortunately, Chamorros youths are not interested in any back-to-the-land movement. They all hope to obtain teaching positions or government employment after graduation from junior high school. I once asked a native boy who was job hunting in Agana why he didn’t stay on the family homestead and learn to be a good farmer. ‘Oh,’ he said, ‘we can’t do that these days. The girls won’t marry farmers any more. They want their husbands to be dressed up and go to the movies’”.<sup>348</sup>

In sum, colonial agricultural projects enacted through the colonial education system worked to alter Chamorro economic values and practices, inscribe the qualities of American patriotism, and impose western gender constructs on Chamorros of all ages. While young girls were relegated to spaces of domesticity and taught to play supportive roles to men engaged in manual labor, men – particularly young men – were viewed as vehicles through which modern western agricultural methods could be disseminated to others resisting such introductions. The policy domain of education was thus in itself a colonial project as well as a

---

<sup>346</sup> L.T. Siguenza, “Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Clubs,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. 11 (February 1939): 18-19.

<sup>347</sup> Underwood, 118.

<sup>348</sup> Margaret M. Higgins, “Guam – Perch in the China Sea,” *National Geographic*. Vol. 74, No. 1 (1938): 99.

vehicle through which broader surveillance over Chamorro family economies could be established.

Such projects did, however, allow Chamorro agents to fulfill leadership capacities within an industry many of them navigated confidently – agriculture. These positions not only required Chamorro farm agents to be knowledgeable of western agricultural introductions, but to access an indigenous episteme that considered ecological and supernatural forces influencing crop yield and quality. Within these colonial agricultural projects, Chamorros took part in decision-making processes that worked to the benefit of their families and communities, and selectively applied the values and practices associated with both western economies and *kustumbren Chamorro*. Resistance and cooperation among farmers in the southern districts particularly attest to the complexities of indigenous agency in the pre-war economy.



**Figure 19. Mr. L. T. Siguenza, Agricultural Extension Agent**  
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/guampedia/albums/72157623544967207/page2>.



## CHAPTER 5 IN DE-FENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF GUAM

By the 1930s, the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station found much more to worry about than failed experiments. Local advocates waited patiently for the results of U.S. Congress's review of the Department of Agriculture bill, which omitted funding appropriations for the insular possession experiment stations.<sup>349</sup> When news was received of the cut, the Guam Chamber of Commerce immediately cabled Admiral Robert E. Coontz, former Governor and champion of agricultural development on Guam. At the time, Coontz was the representative of the local Chamber at Washington and took action to have the Guam item reinserted in the bill. Little encouragement was given by the Secretary of Agriculture, prompting him to speak directly to the subcommittee on appropriations. Appearing before them, he "received considerable encouragement and this sub-committee consented to insert the item for Guam, but the main Committee on Appropriations of the House refused to make any additions."<sup>350</sup> The Admiral continued to garner support through interviews with various representatives and Senators and eventually delivered the following message to Guam bystanders:

The Agricultural Bill will be out in a day or two. After reading this statement in the morning paper I very much doubt that not one single item not in the original bill as sent down to the house will be put in. This is very sad, but as soon as I get the bill I will take it up with Senator Oddie and others in the Senate, asking for help and also permission to appear before the Agricultural Committee of the Senate in the hope that they will put the item in and then fight it out with the House of Representatives. Be assured that the thing will be pushed by myself and others, and we will fight as hard as we can.<sup>351</sup>

---

<sup>349</sup> "Guam Still Has Hope of Retaining Agricultural Station," *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 12 (March 1932), 473, 475.

<sup>350</sup> "Admiral Coontz Working for Guam," *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 12 (March 1932), 473.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

This chapter picks up from Chapters 3 and 4 in which I analyzed the structure, operations, and projects of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. While Chapter 3 provides examples of Chamorro resistance to the Guam Agricultural Experimentation Station, Chapter 4 highlights Chamorro agency within station project sites distant from colonial headquarters. This chapter thus attempts to shed light on a faction of the Chamorro community working in closer proximity to station agents and colonial administrators. Here, I investigate the role of the Guam Congress in the campaign to prevent the discontinuation of the Guam Agricultural Experimentation Station in the 1930s. Emerging at a time of questionable empire-building, progressive politics, and economic instability, the fate Guam Agricultural Experiment Station hung in the balance. The Guam Congress's reactions to the matter would thus add to multitude of Chamorro perceptions toward Guam's political relationship with the United States as well as Chamorro visions for the local economy.

### *The Guam Congress*

The first Guam Congress was established on January 6, 1917 through Executive Order No. 216 issued by Governor Roy C. Smith.<sup>352</sup> It was merely an appointed advisory body of prominent Chamorro men occupying fields from businessmen, landowners, Deputy Commissioners, and district Commissioners, but also included ex-officio members chosen from among American officers. Regular sessions were held once a month with "special" sessions scheduled as needed. The First Guam Congress operated for fourteen years until the entirely "new and reformed" Second Guam Congress took seat on March 7, 1931.<sup>353</sup> The 1930s thus marked a new decade of political developments on Guam.

While Coontz networked with members of U.S. Congress on the continent, on Guam, the Guam Congress put itself to work sending various cablegrams and radio dispatches to the

---

<sup>352</sup> Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 138.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

Secretary of the Navy asking for reconsideration of the decision.<sup>354</sup> In addition to this, the congressmen sent a resolution exclaiming that “the discontinuance of the Experiment Station in Guam would be economically disastrous to the inhabitants”<sup>355</sup> as agriculture was “the only



**Figure 20. Guam Congress.** *Guampedia*. <https://www.guampedia.com/chamorro-drive-for-civil-rights/>.

remunerative industry on the island...the sole channel toward self-support of the Island.”<sup>356</sup> Furthermore, it explained that the station, having just reached a stage of “cooperative spirit from the farmers”<sup>357</sup>, continues to provide “invaluable aid” to them for they “are dependent upon [it] for their guidance, encouragement, and instruction”.<sup>358</sup> The people of Guam were

---

<sup>354</sup> “Chamorro People Plead for Retention of Agricultural Experiment Station,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932): 436.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>358</sup> *Ibid.*

further described as “grateful recipients of the favors rendered”<sup>359</sup> by the station and therefore “deeply indebted directly to the United States Congress and indirectly to the American people.”<sup>360</sup> Furthermore, the Guam Congress articulated that should the annual appropriation or “the minimum amount of appropriation for this continuance”<sup>361</sup> be awarded, the federal government would be performing “an act of justice to the inhabitants of Guam”.<sup>362</sup>

### Guam, A Credit to Our Country

On Saturday, January 23, 1932, the U.S. House of Representatives held session to discuss an amendment to the bill, which called to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to establish and maintain agricultural experiment stations in Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Ricco, and Guam. The allocation would amount to \$168,560 total with \$20,000 designated for Guam. Representative of Vermont Ernest W. Gibson delivered a speech in strong support of “the people of Guam”, which was later published in the March 1932 issue of *The Guam Recorder*.<sup>363</sup> Building off of the Guam Congress’s resolution, the speech highlighted the need for the experiment station to the development of Guam’s agricultural industry:

When these people came under our control they had no knowledge of the technical side of agriculture. We have made these people self-sustaining. The agriculture experiment station has paid for itself many times over. The people of Guam appreciate all that America has done for them. They have cooperated to the very limit.<sup>364</sup>

Mentioned repeatedly was how the lending of such scientific support would reflect on the nation and ultimately benefit it. The Representative stated, “I am for the most rigid economy in making appropriations. But this is a small item. The grant of a few thousand dollars for the continuance of the station for the fiscal year will make a fourfold return and will assure these

---

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> “The Honorable Ernest W. Gibson of Vermont In the House of Representatives Speaks in Defense of the People of Guam And for the Retention of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 12 (March 1932), 480-81.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

people under our sovereignty of our continued interest in their welfare. That assurance is very important to all our people under existing conditions.”<sup>365</sup>

These iterations of national duty were not only in reference to the maintenance of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station, but to the colony in general:

What is to be done with Guam? Some advocate sale and withdrawal. I am not much in favor of hauling down the American flag and admitting failure in colonial administration... We have been conducting a splendid development of colonial government in the Island. The results are a credit to our country. We have built roads, provided a system of sanitation, built electric light and power plants, built up an excellent school system, and given the people, a fairly full measure of liberty, and freedom... In order to help the natives we have conducted a small agriculture experiment station.<sup>366</sup>

Gibson went on to assert that “Guam is a naval station”<sup>367</sup> and urged Congress to “define the status of Guam”<sup>368</sup>, a responsibility long overdue since the signing of the Treaty of Paris.

Reflecting on the report of President McKinley to the first Governor of Guam, he states, “We have not yet provided them with legislation ‘that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples.’”<sup>369</sup>

Acknowledging the limited powers of the Guam Congress and the Guam citizenry at large, Gibson rendered himself qualified to speak on their behalf, stating “I rise to speak for the people of a little island under our flag, way out in the Pacific six thousand miles from the main land. I refer to the people of Island of Guam, who have no delegate, commissioner, or member of Congress to speak for them.”<sup>370</sup> Highlighted was the supposed loyalty, cooperation, obedience, and patriotism of the Chamorro people – attributes he felt worthy of greater recognition by U.S. Congress and congressional appropriations for the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station:

---

<sup>365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid.

The retiring Governor during the last year granted the people a “bill of rights” and established the Guam Congress for advisory purposes, elected by universal suffrage... The people are loyal to our country and its institutions... I submit Mr. Chairman that these people who are upholding American ideals out there in the broad Pacific, thousands of miles from their mainland, are entitled to consideration, at the hands of Congress...<sup>371</sup>

It is in this articulation of the rights of Guam’s citizens that we see a disjuncture between Gibson’s speech and the Guam Congress’s documents from which he based his arguments. In order to understand the Guam Congress’s role in the fight for the experiment station, a look at the pre-war political climate is necessary.

### A New Decade

The 1930s marked a watershed in Guam history due to the progressive politics of the day that facilitated new local political developments. Governor William Bradley’s support for the people of Guam came in the form of a Bill of Rights in 1930 and calls for federal legislation to grant them U.S. citizenship.<sup>372</sup> The First Guam Congress was also replaced with a new and reformed membership by 1931. Previous attempts to realize self-government in response to mistreatment by the U.S. naval government led Chamorro leaders to seek alternative means of getting their voices heard. In 1933, an island-wide petition drive for US



**Figure 21. U.S. Citizenship delegates Francisco B. Leon Guerrero, right, and Baltazar J. Bordallo, in front of the Capitol in Washington, D.C. 1936.** Photo courtesy of Governor Richard Bordallo. Pedro C. Sanchez, *Guahan = Guam: The History of Our Island* (Agaña, GU: Sanchez Publishing House, 1988), 142.

---

<sup>371</sup> Ibid.

<sup>372</sup> Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 149.

citizenship was organized and in 1937, the Congress sent two delegates – Baltazar J. Bordallo and Francisco B. Leon Guerrero – to Washington D.C. to transmit another petition for US citizenship.<sup>373</sup> This was possible through *chenchule*’ donations garnered from the community. Despite meeting President Roosevelt himself, limited time only allowed them to exchange formal greetings and not pressing concerns on the nature of American rule on Guam. The delegates returned home to face some dissatisfaction and criticism by the community.

This political climate thus served as the backdrop to the issue concerning the continuation of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. As a matter of fact, articles covering the “Chamorro’s” plea for U.S. citizenship were sometimes printed alongside the “Chamorro” fight for the station.<sup>374</sup> I put the word “Chamorro” in parenthesis because the authors of *The Guam Recorder* – navy personnel – used “Chamorro” interchangeably with “Guam Congress”. While, theoretically, the Congress represented the Chamorro community, systemic disempowerment did not allow it to fully address the range of issues pertaining to its constituents.

This in mind, I call for closer analysis of the Guam Congress’s role in advocating for the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, their constituents had mixed reactions to the institution and its projects. Some farmers avoided the station entirely while others participated in varying degrees. Aside from the fact that most of them were large landowners or engaged in various business ventures, the Congressmen’s proximity to the station was through its controversial relationship with the colonial administration that supported the station’s vision of agricultural development. Thus, as Chamorro leaders, the

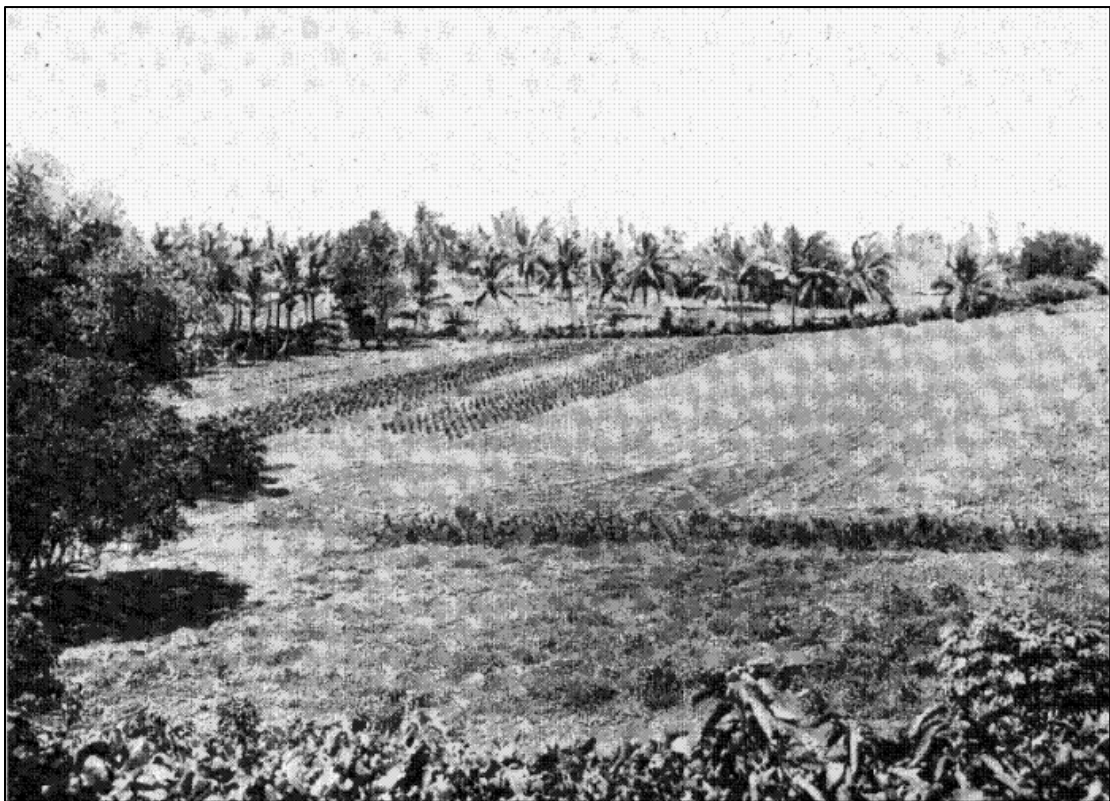
---

<sup>373</sup> Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 154-155.

<sup>374</sup> “Chamorro People Plead for Retention of Agricultural Experiment Station,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 10 (January 1932): 436.

Congressmen were expected to act as both cooperative indigenous agents of colonial projects as well as the voices of their constituents which at times conflicted.

Arguably, the Guam Congress's support for the station was reflective of their desire to add leverage to the grander mission of achieving self-government and U.S. citizenship. Their testimonies and engagements with the naval government also reveal their knowledge of the economic climate of the day and their genuine fears as to how the depression would affect the island of Guam. To champion agricultural improvement and economic development, in general, would've meant to demonstrate their competency of the day's pressing issues and their capacities to work toward solutions despite doubts of their comprehensibility by colonial superiors. Their campaign for the continuation of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station further reveals their desires for an economic leg that could potentially support a self-governing Guam in an era of increasing modernization and globalization.



**Figure 22. Garden Demonstration on Naval Government Farm at Barrigada, 1918.** C.W. Edwards, "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918," Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, insert between 52-53.



### Navigating the Public Domain

While on the surface the rhetoric employed by the Guam Congress to justify the continuation of the experiment station and other colonial institutions implies tolerance and appreciation for the existing system of law, greater attention must be paid to the pragmatics of language used. This approach has been taken by Chamorro historian James Perez Viernes who revisits binary historiographies of the Guam Congress:

For many Chamorros in Guam, the opening session of the First Guam Congress indeed offered new hope toward gaining some level of political autonomy and representation within the otherwise dictatorial US military colonial administration that existed for the preceding eighteen years. Although this sentiment reverberates loudly throughout the canonical historiography, more recent historians have been swift to critique the formation of the Guam Congress as merely an extension of the already intrusive arm of American governance of the island.<sup>375</sup>

In light of this, Viernes proposes an unpacking of “ostensibly conflicting or ambiguous posture of Guam Congressmen as a means of contemplating the development of hybridized Chamorro masculinities in the specific context of the newly introduced American democratic political sphere of prewar Guam”<sup>376</sup> and to “consider the ways that Chamorro masculinities in the public domain reflected an amalgamation of scripts representative to both Chamorro and American notions of gender and political maneuvering.”<sup>377</sup>

In order to navigate the colonial governing system, Viernes explains that the Guam Congress “attempted to create a facade of English language fluency as a means of allowing themselves to meet the assumed expectations of a particular space.”<sup>378</sup> Viernes quotes Chamorro scholar Penelope Hofschneider, who posits that “language was among the paramount factors that fostered a misinterpretation of Chamorro expressions in the political domain, where a lack of familiarity with the English language and its nuances often led to

---

<sup>375</sup> Viernes, “*Negotiating Manhood*”, 189.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid., 205.

seemingly vociferous expressions of friendliness to American rule.”<sup>379</sup> Reports of the Guam Congress thus evoked an air of both criticism and praise to the naval government.

Viernes’ closer textual analysis of Guam Congress reports demonstrates a “complex interworking of contemplative political rhetoric.”<sup>380</sup> While the congressmen utilized slightly different conventions and styles, consistent was the art of digression:<sup>381</sup>

It aligns closely with what Kennedy describes as “digression” or “excursus.” Here, rhetoricians theorize that those skilled in rhetoric and oratory often employ digression or excursus, “which is not so much a true digression as a discussion of some related matter that may affect the outcome or a description of the moral character, whether favorable or unfavorable, of those involved in the case.”<sup>382</sup>

Viernes states, “Rather than addressing a shortcoming or injustice with immediacy and frankness, modes of digression had become a preferred option in which criticisms might be offered alongside or following praise.”<sup>383</sup> The Guam historian also elaborates on the congressmen’s *mamåhlao* behavior which informed their communication with colonial officials:

Mamåhlao sets the standards by which to measure character, upbringing and conduct. It represents all the Chamorro ideas of what is proper and civilized behavior. A Chamorro who “has shame” is always humble and respectful; he or she is honorable and generous and caring of others; he or she is loyal to his or her family and is diligent about fulfilling his or her obligations and those of his or her family. A person who does not “have shame” is taimamåhlao. If he or she is “without shame,” he or she is selfish, crude and disrespectful. Taimamåhlao (shameful) behavior embarrasses everyone and reflects poorly on the offensive individual’s whole family.<sup>384</sup>

---

<sup>379</sup> Hofschneider, *A Campaign for Political Rights on the Island of Guam, 1899-1950* (Saipan: Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands Division of Historic Preservation, 2010), 4.

<sup>380</sup> Viernes, “Negotiating Manhood”, 209.

<sup>381</sup> George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3. as cited in Viernes, “Negotiating Manhood”, 212-213.

<sup>382</sup> George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 5 as cited in Viernes, “Negotiating Manhood”, 209.

<sup>383</sup> Viernes, 217.

<sup>384</sup> Carmen Artero Kasperbauer, “The Chamorro Culture,” *Kinalamten Pulitikåt: Siñenten I Chamorro/Issues in Guam’s Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective*, Hale’-ta series (Agaña: Political Coordinating Commission, 1996), 29.

In short, the Guam Congressmen were engaged in “the particular political and rhetorical strategies...in tandem with this pervasive cultural script of communication and behavior.”<sup>385</sup> Thus, Gibson’s articulations of what “the people of Guam” wanted should not be conflated with the desires and aspirations of the Guam Congress who spoke from a different positionality.

“What is to be done with Guam?”<sup>386</sup>

Back in the House of Representatives, debates continued as to the fate of the island of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. In opposition to the bill amendment, Representative Stafford of Wisconsin stated in part, “The Government of the United States is relinquishing over the Island of Guam, and we are asked to perpetuate an experiment station among people over there over which we will have no jurisdiction whatever.”<sup>387</sup> In contradiction to Representative Stafford’s statements, Senator Hiram Binham of Connecticut, a member of the Senate Committee on Territories, wrote a letter to Guam bystanders stating, “Of course this Member was entirely in error. We are not ‘relinquishing jurisdiction’ over Guam, and the Naval Station there is being maintained, although we are not continuing to keep a considerable force of marines there.”<sup>388</sup>

The proposed amendment to the Agriculture Appropriation Bill sent to the U.S. Congress was eventually defeated by a vote of 19 ayes and 60 noes.<sup>389</sup> However, despite this, the Amendment moved for review by the Senate. Prior to the session, the Chamber of

---

<sup>385</sup> Ibid., 214-215.

<sup>386</sup> Quote taken from “The Honorable Ernest W. Gibson of Vermont In the House of Representatives Speaks in Defense of the People of Guam And for the Retention of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 12 (March 1932), 480-81.

<sup>387</sup> The Honorable Ernest W. Gibson of Vermont In the House of Representatives Speaks in Defense of the People of Guam And for the Retention of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 8, No. 12. March 1932., 480-481.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid., 480-481.

<sup>389</sup> “Guam Still Has Hope of Retaining Agricultural Station,” *The Guam Recorder* 8, no. 12 (March 1932, 473, 475.

Commerce received four letters from Senators, three of whom were members of the Committee on Appropriations. These members were Senator Wesley I. Jones of Washington (Chairman of the Committee on Appropriation), Senator Hiram Bingham of Connecticut, and Senator Tusker L. Oddie of Nevada.<sup>390</sup> Senator Jones's letter essentially acknowledged the Chamber's concerns and assured them that "the matter will have very careful attention when it comes over the Senate." Still, he expressed, "I do not know yet what we will be able to do, but you may rest assured that the situation will be given careful study."<sup>391</sup>

Senator Bingham's simply reiterated the House's decision followed by the statement, "I shall be glad to see if anything can be done for the Guam Experiment Station when the bill comes to the Senate."<sup>392</sup> Like Jones and Bingham, Senator Oddie acknowledged receipt of the Chamber's concerns and assured them that he was "anxious to be of service to the people of Guam" having visited the following summer.<sup>393</sup> Still, Oddie forewarned Guam bystanders of the situation at hand:

I...feel very strongly the necessity for rendering every assistance possible by our government to the people and industry. We are, however, having very difficult times with financial matters now because of the worldwide economic depression and the deficit in our treasury. We are faced with enormous expenditures at this session of Congress and have a hard task in providing ways and means of meeting them.<sup>394</sup>

Roughly six months later, *The Guam Recorder* published an article expressing the ongoing bereavement caused by the discontinuation of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. The publication described the abolishment as "one of the great losses which Guam has experienced as a result of the 1932 depression."<sup>395</sup> Thus, while Guam's colonial administrators and their supporters like the Guam Congressmen viewed the Guam

---

<sup>390</sup> Ibid.

<sup>391</sup> Ibid.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid.

<sup>394</sup> Ibid.

<sup>395</sup> "The Passing of the Agricultural Experiment Station," *The Guam Recorder* 9, no. 5 (August 1932), 76.

Agricultural Experiment Station as being of great importance to the island, it held little weight in comparison to other items on the U.S. Congress's agenda. The institution was nothing more than an afterthought to the federal government whose immediate concern was addressing the domestic economic crisis.

The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station clearly meant something to all parties who had a stake in the matter. To the colonial administration of Guam, the station held symbolic meaning as an institution representative of American intellectual and technological superiority. To station agents, specifically, the continuation of the station meant validating their work. It served as venue through which they could "leave their mark".

To Representative Gibson and other U.S. Congressional supporters, the issue presented an opportunity to assert their progressive views in the domestic arena. Positioning himself as the voice of an underrepresented community, Gibson went beyond raising the issue surrounding the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station to bring the controversy over Guam's political status to the forefront. In calling out the federal government's delayed legislation, Gibson presented himself as one of the politicians holding U.S. Congress accountable for its responsibility to uphold the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris signed in 1898.

To Gibson's colleagues in the House and Senate, the more pressing concern was the nation's capacity to maintain its empire. While some American officials saw potential in the colonies to help combat the economic depression and the food crisis in particular, others considered the colonies a burden on the national economy. Talk of downsizing military forces also generated confusion as to whether the United States was abandoning its outlying possessions, causing anxiety amongst the informed segments of the Guam community. Clearly, the plight of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station was overshadowed by conversations over national security and the economic depression.

### *On the Road that Leads to Independence*

The stakes, however, ran high for Chamorro leaders and community members with similar economic and political interests. For one, as landowners, some saw an opportunity to advance agricultural enterprises by tapping into the resources of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. Beyond personal interests, however, there was the desire for self-government and U.S. citizenship. Champions of these “rights” problematized the authoritarianism of the naval government and, consequently, were tested as to how well they could measure up to processes of Americanization: How well had they assimilated into American culture? How genuinely had they adopted American values? How well did they navigate American institutions? Colonial authorities in favor of the status quo pointed to blemishes in society to argue that the Chamorro people were incapable of governing themselves. Chamorro leadership was commonly used as a scapegoat for the economic problems plaguing the island:

The Chamorro people ought to face this problem squarely. The responsibility is theirs and there is no way of shirking it. Those of the higher strata, who have the brains and money, especially brains, should show more aggressiveness in the Island’s industry. They should organize themselves, band their efforts together and with a wise leadership start on the road that leads to independence and comfort.<sup>396</sup>

The comment above portrays Chamorro leaders as having a passive stance to the needs of the community and failed to acknowledge any shortcomings of the colonial administration or external economic factors that impacted the local economy.

So far, I am not suggesting that members of the socio-economic elite were inconsiderate of those along margins of society or that less advantaged Chamorros did not find in the Guam Congress a form of political voice. Like the Chamorro leaders charged with managing agricultural projects, Guam Congressmen engaged in political maneuvering around colonial officials and their constituents. In 1936, an individual identified as “a member of the

---

<sup>396</sup> “Organization and Leadership,” *The Guam Recorder* 6, no. 2, May 1929.

Fifth Guam Congress” submitted an essay for an essay contest with the prompt, “How to Keep Farmers on the Farm.”<sup>397</sup> It read:

I hold compassion for my farmer brethren and share with him regrets for the condition he is in and the blame placed upon his shoulders by an unknowing world in what I firmly believe a condition not of his own [choosing] and which he, himself, is fervently praying to extricate himself from...<sup>398</sup>

The strength of the essay was in its acknowledgement of the systematic constraints working against all members of the Chamorro community. At times, the Congressmen appears to be sympathetic to the farmers of whom “all the alleged faults [are] placed... the terrible trade balance against Guam, the congested condition in the towns and the city of Agaña, and may others.”<sup>399</sup>

The writer further believed that his proximity to the farmer by way of culture positioned him to recommend sound solutions for the day’s dilemma. He stated that, first and foremost, farmers need to be assured that their produce would be absorbed into a market that will provide a fair return for their labor. The farmer was said to be “at a disadvantage in view of this narrow margin of outlet...controlled by a few buyers.”<sup>400</sup> Secondly, he believed it to be the government’s responsibility to “establish and afford modern conveniences and facilities to the farmers in the farm.”<sup>401</sup> Among other things, reducing taxes on land and farm improvements by at least “1 per cent exclusively to farmers who have proven to live in the farm permanently”<sup>402</sup> was also highly recommended. Furthermore, the writer reaffirmed the “great love” farmers had “for the only employment and labor they by their training knew.”<sup>403</sup> Using liberal rhetoric of “equality” and “freedom”, the member of the Fifth Guam Congress

---

<sup>397</sup> “Prize Essay Second Prize How to Keep Farmers on the Farm,” *The Guam Recorder* 15, no. (August 1936): 14-16.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

asserted that the farmers “should, as all people are free to do so, look elsewhere for sustenance if their lot as farmers have not given its full share of responsibility to the world.”<sup>404</sup>

On one hand, the piece appears to be sympathetic to the average farmer and progressive in addressing issues beyond the farmers themselves. On the other hand, it highlights the hypocrisy of the Chamorro elite who encouraged their constituents to “take pride” in occupations of manual labor – something some of them had the luxury of avoiding:

History is full of well-merited acts and attempts to bring the Chamorro farmers to a full realization of their important duty to their people and to their island but the farmers have yet to shoulder their responsibility and return to the land with steadiness of purpose.”<sup>405</sup>

In defining the “duties” and “responsibilities” of members of the Chamorro community, the author attempted to re-affirm the leadership capacities of the Guam Congress while relegating the average Chamorro to their ranches of “purpose”. The frequently-noted lack of “skills”, “training”, and “qualifications” of Chamorro farmers seeking employment justified such class divisions along with English language fluency and an American education.<sup>406</sup>

The author, however, does not represent the views of every Chamorro nor every Guam Congressmen and further research into the unique backgrounds of the members will serve well to shed light on a plurality of perspectives within the advisory body. While his essay exhibited elements of the colonial discourse, it is nonetheless distinguishable from the conventional reports printed in *The Guam Recorder* for its subtle critiques of the naval government and consideration of the factors external to Chamorro constituents. In support of development projects, the author reminded progressives that words must be put into action and the dignity of the farmer preserved. He stated, “Believing that while every good work of

---

<sup>404</sup> Ibid.

<sup>405</sup> Ibid.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid.



encouragement has been said, adequate material action has not fully been placed forward to support such good intentions.”<sup>407</sup>

If there is to be a main take away from this chapter, it is that aside from colonial visions as to what Guam’s economy and governing system should be or become, there were Chamorro visions as well. Chamorro visions likewise varied, reflecting differences in class, gender, age, and interest. For members of the



**Figure 23. Station Residence, 1915.** A.C. Hartenbower, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1915,” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916, insert between pages 8 and 9.

Guam Congress – whose privileges nevertheless allowed them to occupy their time on matters beyond subsistence farming – the dilemma surrounding the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station was not external to their agenda. It was instead an essential element to their argument for a certain economic and political vision for Guam and its people. The 1930s – marked by an economic depression, progressive politics, and debates over U.S. imperial expansion – urged Chamorro agents like the Guam Congressmen to assert themselves under a colonial regime that presented to them many power constraints. Evidently influencing their political maneuvering, however, were Chamorro cultural values and philosophies.

---

<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER 6

### WE REMEMBER: CONSIDERING HISTORIES OF RESISTANCE WITHIN CONTEMPORARY FOOD SOVEREIGNTY MOVEMENTS

“The moderate prices of automobiles and the construction of good roads have made it possible for the farmer to come to town for the purpose of shopping, attending church or entertainments, and various other gatherings with comparative ease...The island is now well covered with improved roads so that...transportation to any part of the island is but a matter of minutes instead of days. Small electric light plants can be purchased now for a few hundred dollars and with one of these plants, a prosperous farmer may enjoy the comforts of electric lights, electric refrigeration, or concerts from the various cities of the world over the radio...Most of the outlying districts have telephones so that, in case of an accident or sudden illness, a call for assistance may be, with little delay, sent to Agaña...The farmer has no reason to ever be hungry, nor should he ever be without something to sell for cash in order to obtain money to purchase things which he cannot produce on his farm or ranch...The farmer has no “get-rich-quick” schemes...For these reasons, I have chosen the lot of a farmer.”<sup>408</sup>

The passage above was written by Joaquín C. Guerrero, a Chamorro project agent who lived under the early U.S. naval administration. His writing captures exceptionally well the transformations to Guam’s pre-WWII physical, economic, and cultural landscapes that speak to David Hanlon’s “re-making” theory of American colonial domination.<sup>409</sup> As the United States emerged as a global power of the twentieth century, some bureaucrats found it an opportune time to demonstrate the genius of American progress and protect its economic interests overseas.

So as to justify U.S. military presence, these bureaucrats referred to newly-acquired territories as “international responsibilities.”<sup>410</sup> U.S. colonies like Guam thus provided new

---

<sup>408</sup> Joaquín C. Guerrero, “My Ideal – The Farmer,” *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. (July 1935): 94.

<sup>409</sup> David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia*, 2.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.*

testing grounds for Progressive governance outside the normal constraints of democratic government.<sup>411</sup> On Guam, a series of development projects were implemented to accommodate administrative operations, provide stationed American personnel with familiar comforts, and explore Guam's economic potential.

The case studies provided in the preceding chapters highlight the variety of projects intended to develop a market economy on the island. Located in the capital, the Farmers' Market served as a central venue in which Chamorros could be exposed to western business practices. The question as to where food surpluses to supply the local and export market would be sourced was to be answered through the help of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. Established to promote agricultural research, the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station played a supportive role to the naval government which aimed to increase the local food supply. Lastly, the projects sponsored under the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station and the Department of Education worked to increase the productivity of Chamorro women and children in the market economy.

External factors to include the great depression of the 1930s, transitioning styles of governance, war, and a new, threatening presences in the Pacific (Japan) generated immense anxiety amongst U.S. bureaucrats and local colonial officials. Additionally hindering local developments were the Chamorro people themselves. At times, Chamorro economic practices and notions of time and space prevented progress and thus served as a major source of frustration for colonial officials. Most Chamorros performed "every day acts of resistance"<sup>412</sup>, resisting projects that operating beyond cultural norms and personal preferences. This is evident in the selective cooperation amongst Chamorros in proximity to the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station. Others found ways to manipulate the system, as in the case

---

<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 29.

of Chamorro Farmers' Market patrons. Some agents simply took ownership of particular projects, using them to serve purposes beyond agriculture as was the case in the southern farming districts. For members of the Guam Congress, agricultural projects and institutions were essential elements of a broader political agenda toward self-government and U.S. citizenship.

In short, economic development in pre-war Guam was not a smooth nor entirely welcomed process. Colonial agricultural projects demonstrate the disturbing nature of the American naval administration and thus challenge notions of a prosperous pre-war agrarian society. In fact, pre-war Guam witnessed the entanglement of two dominant economic systems. While colonial projects gradually altered Chamorro livelihoods, *kustumbren Chamorro* inversely impacted the colonial agenda.

Guerrero's reflection particularly attests to the ways in which Chamorros navigated transformations in pre-war Guam. According to the project agent, modern conveniences only serve to enhance the already fulfilling lives of his constituents by facilitating quicker communication and transportation between parties. Adapting to various situations, Guerrero asserted, was already inherent to his identity as a farmer. Vicente Diaz might articulate Guerrero's positionality as reflective of the "complexity of Chamorro simplicity" or the "simplicity of Chamorro complexity".<sup>413</sup> Rather than viewing Guerrero's participation (and that of others) in colonial projects as simply wholesale appropriation of the colonizer's culture, I suggest we take Diaz's advice and "look at the ways that the Chamorro have "localized" nonlocal ideas and practices, how they have sought to convert the dangerous into the pleasurable, the foreign into the local, the tragic into the comic."<sup>414</sup>

---

<sup>413</sup> Vicente M. Diaz, "Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise of Survival in Guam," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1: 29-58.

<sup>414</sup> Ibid.

In regard to the complexities of Chamorro agency in pre-war Guam, Anne Perez Hattori offers something of relevance here in her analysis of Chamorro responses to U.S. health care and sanitation policies. She states, “In between the poles of acceptance and resistance is a wide spectrum of possibilities. Whether accommodating naval authorities or avoiding them, whether manipulating naval intentions or subverting them, Chamorro people acted neither unanimously nor predictably. Rather, because their reasons differed according to individuals, clan, action or class interests, as well as from one historical context to another, their actions must be understood in their individual particularity. Native people responded to a plethora of discrete encounters with distinct motivations.”<sup>415</sup>



**Figure 24. Woman Shopping.** ‘Self-Serve Ship’s Store,’ *The Guam Recorder* 18, no. 8 (November 1941), 309.

---

<sup>415</sup> Anne Perez Hattori, *Colonial Dis-Ease: U.S. Navy Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004): 201.

### Post-carding the Past

When driving around Guam in the present day, there is a recurring image. The *lanchero* (rancher/farmer) and *carabao* (water buffalo) icons have emerged quite frequently in recent decades. They have been reproduced in response to post-World War II attempts at a “green revolution” and an ongoing indigenous cultural renaissance although the *carabao* is non-indigenous, having been introduced during the time of the Spanish colonial administration. The icons are found plastered on school buildings or incorporated into the logos of local businesses. The *lanchero* is often portrayed as male and commonly paired with his trusty companion, the *carabao* (water buffalo). These icons work to symbolize subsistence farming often identified as one of the essential elements of *kustumbren Chamorro*. To demonstrate how much they mean to members of the Guam community, consider the public outcry when the Navy resorted to culling *carabao* on federal property in 2003. The Navy claimed the *carabaos* caused property and ecological damage, but local protest urged them to consider an adoption program.

For some Chamorros, especially those who continue to uphold the farming profession, these icons symbolize strength and empowerment – a reminder of the generation that survived off of the land before and during the WWII when food became scarce. While some regard them as symbols of resistance and autonomy, others say they serve as a “reminder” of backward practices, a cultural portrayal in stark contrast to the reality of Chamorro livelihoods today. The latter tend to point to how Guam residents are largely dependent on imported foods and the fact that farming has become an afterthought to educational pursuits, military recruitment, and other wage-earning occupations. The farmer and *carabao* are thus either regarded as historic and cultural icons or caricatures more humorous than relatable.

It comes as no surprise, then, that the *lanchero* and *carabao* have been commercialized as a way to market Chamorro culture. Arguably, they are used to portray a “hard work” ethic

of those employing them. In reference to contemporary Pacific islander scholarship, the late Teresia Teaiwa pointed out such tendencies to over-romanticize islander labor, stating, “Maybe in the old days we would have been philosophers-cum-taro-planters, or fishermen and women poets, or navigating scientists, or weaving mathematicians. Today planting, fishing, navigation and weaving are common metaphors in our scholarship- desperate attempts to claim a *working* genealogy for what we do.”<sup>416</sup> The implication of such symbolism is that the modern economy stands as testament to hard work and development since the time Guam was predominantly an agrarian society.

As we continue to witness the reproduction of such symbols, there becomes a greater need to contextualize and historicize them or we risk engaging in what Richard Price calls “the folklorization of colonialism” or the “postcarding of the past”.<sup>417</sup> In other words, the “sanitiz[ing] of colonial histories and commercializ[ing] of folk culture all the while marginalizing the communities that still practiced this way of life.”<sup>418</sup>

#### *Independent Guåhan: Food Sovereignty Discussions*

In an attempt to connect history with contemporary economic issues, the Independent Guåhan task force organized a general assembly in June of 2017 on the topic of food sovereignty. Speakers highlighted environmental injustices and health concerns resulting from generations of colonialism. Attendees likewise raised concerns over the U.S. military’s continuous threat to Guam’s natural resources and particularly the island’s current inability to sustain itself economically. Of major concern was food security and the poor state of agriculture on Guam.

As part of Independent Guåhan’s campaign to educate the public, the task force

---

<sup>416</sup> Teresia Teaiwa, “Scholarship from a Lazy Native.” In *Work in Flux* edited by Greenwood, Neuman, and Sartori (1995): 68.

<sup>417</sup> Richard Price, *The Convict and the Colonel* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 173.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid.

conducts a comparative analysis over a range of models and projects employed by independent nations. The purpose is to demonstrate that sustainability models are possible and in fact working effectively in other countries. Independent Guåhan thus invites the public to consider alternative models for an independent Guam while acknowledging our positionalities and responsibilities to the land and its people. Kenneth Gofigan Kuper, for example, highlighted how the community garden project known as Ho’oulu Āina in Oahu, Hawaii continues to serve underprivileged communities in Kalihi Valley. He admired the participants’ collective stewardship of the land as well as their reverence for the indigenous people of Hawai’i. His presentation was followed by group break-out sessions where community members of various backgrounds further discussed the concept of food sovereignty and alternatives for Guam.

I was in that circle with Ken and other vibrant community members. Having been away from home to pursue my masters degree at the University of Hawai’i at Mānoa, I came to listen, but was appreciative of Independent Guåhan’s efforts to hear from the public. I found in that circle a safe space to bounce around ideas related to my research. Clearly, times have changed since the pre-war era. Chamorros and settlers who call Guam home are up against new challenges of the modern world, but one thing remains the same – we continue to be controlled by a colonial regime that reinforces our economic dependency to it. In that moment, I thought about how our ancestors too gathered collectively to address the concerns of their communities. Within those village or council meetings, what did they envision for Guam’s economy? What did they want to leave their children? What would they have wanted us to do to overcome our present challenges?

### *Food for Thought*

Earlier in my research journey, the building of the new Farmers’ Market facility for the Farmers’ Cooperative Association of Guam made its way into local discussions of food



sovereignty. Several years in operation now, it has generated mixed responses by the public and farmers themselves. For some Chamorro coop members, the facility provides added conveniences but doesn't provide solutions to broader economic issues, bureaucracy, threats by the military, or cultural sustainability. Some Chamorros also feel marginalized as the market houses a growing number of Bangladesh, Chinese, and Filipino farmers.

In other words, what we're are grappling with is beyond concrete walls and produce stands. It is about the settler-colonial structure. David Hanlon reminds us that markets and cooperatives originated as colonial institutions promoted as part of America's economic development agenda:

A strong political consciousness informed the cooperative movement. The formation of cooperatives offered a vehicle whereby the poor could maximize their financial resources, secure through communal structures the advantages of capital, and gain some degree of power by the formation of an effective association that represented the common interests of its membership... Advocates of cooperatives held their advantages to be universally relevant and applicable. In truth, however, these highly Eurocentric institutions infused with the values of capitalist culture served as instruments in the discourse of development that sought to change more local ways of being and knowing.<sup>419</sup>

In her text entitled *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School*, Noelani Goodyear-Kaopua's explores Hawaiian responses to settler institutions and systems, focusing specifically on Hawaiian charter school operators working within settler educational systems. She states, "Under a state system made possible by the seizure of Hawaiian national lands and institutions a century earlier, educators need to be sanctioned by settler authorities in order to produce cultural knowledge within our own communities."<sup>420</sup>

Not to conflate the histories, struggles, and decolonizing projects of Chamorros and Hawaiians, I take from Goodyear-Kaopua's work its consideration of alternative models for indigenous communities subject to U.S. empire. Goodyear-Kaopua states, "Indigenous

---

<sup>419</sup> Hanlon, *Re-making Micronesia*, 81.

<sup>420</sup> Noelani Goodyear-Kaopua, *The Seeds We Planted*, 7.

people living alongside, within, and against settler colonial societies experience such forces daily. And against those forces, we tell our stories of persistence, reaffirming our collective presence and permanence. We rebuild structures that nurture our collective strength and health.”<sup>421</sup> I thus ask similar questions to those posed by Kaopua however in relation to how the Chamorro farming community might practice resurgence within colonial institutions and while under a settler-colonial system. What struggles emerge when attempting to indigenize spaces like farmers markets and cooperatives in the contemporary? What are the bases of power that allow for cultural persistence? “In what ways can indigenous-settlers transform settler-colonial relations of power, knowledge, and wealth?” What possibilities emerge from these collaborations?

These are the kinds of questions grappled with by members of the Pacific Farmers Together Cooperative, Inc (PFTC). For some of the reasons mentioned above, this group of farmers broke away from the FCAG to form their own cooperative. Parked outside of the Chamorro Village, they set up shop using their truck beds. “Tailgate farms” is the term used by President of the PFTC, Marilyn Salas. Salas states that the PFTC attempts to distinguish itself by practicing organic farming, incorporating a more diversified Pacific islander membership, and comprising a leadership of three-fourths women. She challenges the notion that farming is a male occupation, stating that women deserve a greater voice in decision-making processes when it comes to the food we feed our families and communities. Still a young organization, the cooperative does not receive much in the way of external funds, but “runs on chenchule” as Marilyn Salas states.

Tempted to expand the cooperative and market, however, Salas feels the pressure of seeking government funding support. She questions how the PFTC can maintain a cooperative model and market system informed by Pacific values. Ultimately, the

---

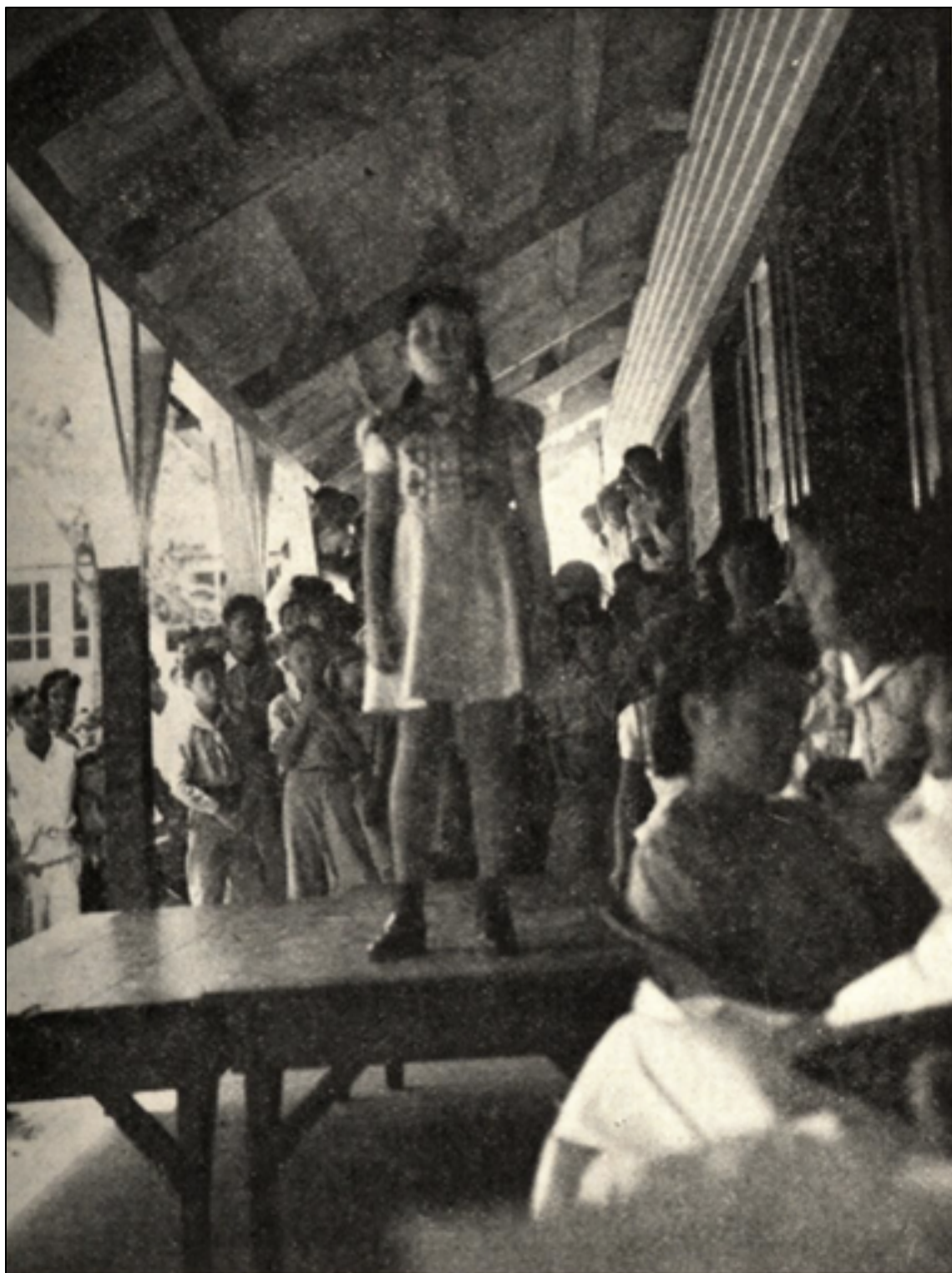
<sup>421</sup> Ibid., 5.

membership is concerned about not repeating history and wanting the project to center on cultural sustainability rather than profit. Coincidentally, the PFTC was already engaged in their own research, wanting to learn about the history of Guam farmers' markets and cooperatives so as to situate themselves in this genealogy. I appreciate their invitation to have me share what I've learned during this journey and glad it can be of some use to them.

The heart of my thesis clearly does not focus on Guam's contemporary food sovereignty movement, but the historical analysis conducted here has allowed me to chart connections between contemporary food sovereignty and broader, historical struggles over Guam's economic systems, land, cultural persistence, and political power.<sup>422</sup> I hope that it can be of interest and use to today's scholars and activists in its consideration of indigenous agency and resistance in the face of destructive forms of economic development. Histories such as this can be weaponized against forces that seek to deny Chamorro agency within historical processes and developments. Furthermore, I hope it demonstrates the resilience of *kustumben Chamorro*. Chamorro cultural values and philosophies – similar to those in other parts of the Pacific – emphasize respect, environmental stewardship, reciprocal transactions, and interdependency. The same values can and are being used to inform contemporary decolonization projects that seek alternatives futures, such as the PFTC. Ultimately, knowing our histories allows us to see ourselves in the context of a larger, intergenerational movement for political and economic independence.

---

<sup>422</sup> Kaopua points to land, cultural persistence and political power in her work.



**Figure 23. Station Residence, 1915.** A.C. Hartenbower, "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1915," Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916, insert between pages 8 and 9.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “1934 Guam Fair 1934.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 11, No. 123. June 1934.
- “Admiral Coontz Working for Guam.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 8, No. 12. March 1932.
- “Agricultural Division Notes.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 12 No. 136. July 1935.
- “Agricultural Opportunity.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 11, No. 129. December 1934.
- Allen, E.W. “Report of the Chief of the Office of Experiment Stations.” Annual Reports of the United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, Washington, D.C., October 1, 1925.
- Annual Reports of the Naval Governors of Guam, 1901-1941. Agana, Guam: Naval Government of Guam.
- “Back to the Farm.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 11, No. 127. October 1934.
- “Barrigada News Notes.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 3. No. 2. May 1926.
- Ballantyne, Tony. *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Maori, and the Question of the Body*,  
Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Blas, Nito. “A History of the Guam Farmers’ Market, 1898-1941.” Unpublished undergraduate research paper for a University of Guam 20<sup>th</sup> Century Guam History Course. Interview by Elyssa J. Santos, March 14, 2013.
- “Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Club.” *The Guam Recorder*. Tenth Year. No. 119.
- “Boys’ and Girls’ Agricultural Club: What They Are.” *The Guam Recorder*. 15, No. 8. November 1938.
- “Boys and Girls Clubs.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 10, No. 119. February 1934.
- Bradley, Jr., Willis W. “Address of Governor Willis W. Bradley, Jr.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 8, No. 3. October 1934.
- Brown, Park. “Small Hope for Guam to Become Self Supporting Island Lives on Navy Funds, Natives Mothered Too Much by U.S.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 3, No. 9. (December 1926), 241.
- Brunton, Maria G. “Prize Essay – Third Prize How to Keep Farmers on the Farm.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 15, No. 5. August 1938.
- Carter, Rosa Roberto. “Education in Guam to 1950: Island and Personal History.” *Guam History: Perspectives*, Vol. 1 Lee D. Carter, William L. Wuerch, and Rosa Roerto Carter, eds. (Mangilao: Micronesia Area Research Center, 1997).

“Chamorro People Plead for Retention of Agricultural Experiment Station.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 8, No. 10. January 1932.

Clement, Jr., Michael Richard. “Kustumbre, Modernity and Resistance The Subaltern Narrative in Chamorro Language Music.” Dissertation: University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2011.

Cohn, Bernard S. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

“Conditions of the Public Schools.” *Guam News Letter*. Vol 5, No. 5. November 1913.

Connell, John. “Food Security in the Island Pacific Is Micronesia As Far Away as Ever?” *Regional Environmental Change* 15, no. 7 (2015) 1299-1311.

“Credit Cause of Backwardness of the Island.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 5, No. 6. September 1928.

Cruz, A.I. “Agricultural Experiment Station Notes: The Home Garden.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 7, No. 1. April 1930.

de la Corte y Ruano Calderon, Felipe. “Descriptive and Historical Report on the Marianas Islands.” Official State Gazette of the Overseas Ministry. Madrid: National Press, 1875.

Denning, Greg. “Review of Marists and Melanesians by Hugh Laracy.” *New Zealand Journal of History* 12 (1978).

“Department of Education Notes: Club Work.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 3, No. 6. September 1926.

“Department of Education: English in Schools of Guam.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 1, No. 6. September 1924.

“Department of Education: School Gardens.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 1 No. August 1924.

“Diary of the Four Horsemen.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 1 No. 5. July 1924.

Vandenberg, S.R. “Agricultural Notes. Discontinuance of Agricultural Experiment Station.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 8, No. December 1931.

“Editorial (Education).” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 1, No. 6. August 1924.

C.W. Edwards. “Extension Notes from the U.S. Agricultural Experimentation Station.” *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 6, No. 11. February 1930.

C.W. Edwards, “Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1917.” Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918.

C.W. Edwards, "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1918." Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919.

Edwards, C.W. "Extension Notes from the U.S. Agricultural Experimentation Station." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 6, No. 11. February 1930.

Flores, Nives M. "Department of Education: Compulsory Education in Guam." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 1, No. August 1924.

Flynn, Jack. "Over the Editorial Desk: Leave Your Mark." *Guam Recorder*. Tenth Year, No. 120  
March 1934.

Franquez, Francisca Quintanilla. "A History of the Guam Farmers' Market, 1898-1941." Unpublished undergraduate research paper for a University of Guam 20<sup>th</sup> Century Guam History Course. Interview by Elyssa J. Santos, February 15, 2013.

"Guam Still Has Hope of Retaining Agricultural Station." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 8, No. 12. March 1932.

Guerrero, Joaquin C. "My Ideal – The Farmer," *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 12, No. July 1935.

Gumataotao, Ben. "A History of the Guam Farmers' Market, 1898-1941." Unpublished undergraduate research paper for a University of Guam 20<sup>th</sup> Century Guam History Course. Interview by Elyssa J. Santos, March 23, 2013.

Guampedia, "Mannakhilo' and Mannakpapa'." Last modified July 3, 2014.  
<http://www.guampedia.com/mannakhilo%E2%80%99-and-mannakpapa%E2%80%99/>  
Accessed May 18, 2017.

Hanlon, David. *Remaking Micronesia Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Hattori, Anne Perez. "Navy Blues: U.S. Naval Rule on Guam and the Rough Road to Assimilation, 1898-1941." *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 5, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 18-19.

Anne Perez Hattori. *Colonial Dis-Ease: U.S. Naval Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Guardians of Our Soil: Indigenous Responses to Post-World War II The Military Land Appropriation on Guam." *Farms, Firms, and Runways: Perspectives on U.S. Military Bases in the Western Pacific*, ed. Eve Armentrout Ma. Chicago: Imprint Publications, 2001. 188-189.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Navy Blues: US Navy Policies in Guam, 1899-1941." Unpublished manuscript: Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1995.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Navy Blues: U.S. Naval Rule on Guam, 1898-1941." *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 5, no. 1 (2014): 13-30.

Hartenbower, A.C. "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1914." Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915.

Hartenbower, A.C. "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1915." Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916.

Hau'ofa, Epeli. "Pasts to Remember." *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Margaret M, Higgins. "Guam – Perch of the China Clippers," *National Geographic*. Vol. 74, No. 1. 1938.

Higuchi, Wakako. *Japanese Administration of Guam, 1941-1944*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2013.

Higuchi, Wakako. "The Japanisation Policy for the Chamorros of Guam, 1941–1944." *The Journal of Pacific History*. Vol. 36, No. 1. 2001.

"How May the People of Guam Gain More Happiness?" *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 6, No. 4. July 1929.

Hofscheider, Penelope. *A Campaign for Political Rights on the Island of Guam, 1899-1950* (Saipan: Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands Division of Historic Preservation, 20010), 4.

"Illusion Versus Facts." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 12, No. 4. July 1935.

I Mina'trentai Dos na Liheslaturan Guåhan, *Committee Report of Senator Vicente (ben) Cabrera Pangelinan (D), Bill No. 77-32 (COR) As Introduced: An Act to amend Section 68975 of Chapter 68, Article 11, Title 21 of the Guam Code Annotated relative to the development of the Farmer's Market Facility by the Farmer's Cooperative Association of Guam, Inc.,* Testimony of Hope Cristobal, Member of the Guam Cooperative Farmer's Association (Agana, Guam, 2013), 4,  
[http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public\\_Laws\\_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf](http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf).

I Mina'trentai Dos na Liheslaturan Guåhan, *Committee Report of Senator Vicente (ben) Cabrera Pangelinan (D), Bill No. 77-32 (COR) As Introduced: An Act to amend Section 68975 of Chapter 68, Article 11, Title 21 of the Guam Code Annotated relative to the development of the Farmer's Market Facility by the Farmer's Cooperative Association of Guam, Inc.,* Testimony of Ms. Angelita P. Mendiola, Member of the Guam Cooperative Farmer's Association (Agana, Guam, 2013), 7,



[http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public\\_Laws\\_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf](http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf).

I Mina'trentai Dos na Liheslaturan Guåhan, *Committee Report of Senator Vicente (ben) Cabrera Pangelinan (D), Bill No. 77-32 (COR) As Introduced: An Act to amend Section 68975 of Chapter 68, Article 11, Title 21 of the Guam Code Annotated relative to the development of the Farmer's Market Facility by the Farmer's Cooperative Association of Guam, Inc.,* Testimony of Ernie Wusstig, Member of the Guam Cooperative Farmer's Association (Agana, Guam, 2013), 4,  
[http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public\\_Laws\\_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf](http://www.guamlegislature.com/Public_Laws_32nd/Public%20Law%2032-023%20-%20Bill%20No%2077-32.pdf).

“Land Owners Benefited.” *The Guam Recorder*. October 1929.

Kasperbauer, Carmen Artero. “The Chamorro Culture.” *Kinalamten Pulitikåt: Siñenten i Chamorro/Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective, Hale'-ta series*. Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996.

K.C. McI. “Signs of the Times A Menace and A Remedy.” *Guam News Letter*. Vol. 4, No. 10. April 1913.

Kornmesser, Allen. “Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India (review).” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. Vol. 30, No. 2. 1999.

La Vía Campesina. The Right to Produce and the Access to Land. Food Sovereignty: A Future without Hunger,” Rome: (November 1996): 11–17 as cited in 43.  
<http://www.voiceoftheturtle.org/library/1996%20Declaration%20of%20Food%20Sovereignty.pdf> [accessed 28 Oct 2016]

Lawrence, Bart. “Guam Farmers Market 08January2017.” Filmed January 2017 at Guam Farmers Market, Dededo, GU. Youtube Video. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G-TGu93DtCo>, January 8, 2017).

Leon Guerrero, Anthony. “The Economic Development of Guam.” *Kinalamten Pulitikåt: Siñenten i Chamorro/Issues in Guam's Political Development The Chamorro Perspective, Hale'-ta series*. Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996.

Lewis, David E. “Gustatory Subversion and the Evolution of Nutritional Dependence in Kiribati.” *Food and Foodways*. Vol. 3, No. 1-2. 1998.  
“Looking into the Future.” *The Guam Recorder* 5. September 192.

Meno, Ben. “A History of the Guam Farmers' Market, 1898-1941.” Unpublished undergraduate research paper for a University of Guam 20<sup>th</sup> Century Guam History Course. Interview by Elyssa J. Santos, March 23, 2013.

McKinley, William and John D. Long. “Instructions for the Military Commander of the Island of Guam, Ladrones, Pacific Ocean.” Washington, D.C.: Navy Department, 1899.

McMichael, Philip. "Tensions between National and International Control of the World Food Order: Contours of a New Food Regime." *Sociological Perspectives* 35, no. 2 (1992): 343-365.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Moore, Colin D. *American Imperialism and the State, 1893-1921*. Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

"Nangga Agupa." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 6 No. 7. October 1929.

Naval Government of Guam. *Annual Report of the Naval Governor of Guam*. Hagåtña, GU: Naval Government of Guam, 1899-1941. 1917.

"News from the Southern Districts." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 18, No. 1. April 1941.

"Organization and Leadership." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 6, No. 2. May 1929.

*Pacific Daily News*. *Guam Farmers' Market facility in Dededo*. September, 2016. Pacific Daily News file, Accessed April 4, 2016.  
<https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/2016/09/26/farmers-market-could-open-late-october/91106304/>.

Plahe, Jagjit Kaur, Shona Hawkes, and Sunil Ponnampuruma. "The Corporate Food Regime and Food Sovereignty." *The Contemporary Pacific* 25, no. 2 (2013): 309-338.

"Planting by the Moon and Tide and Superstitions of the Chamorro People." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 3, No. 9. December 1926.

Palomo, Tony. *An Island in Agony*. Annandale, VA: T. Palomo, 1984.

"Public Market Meets Pay Cut." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol 9. No. 5. August 1932.

"Prize Essay Second Prize How to Keep Farmers on the Farm." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 15, No. August 1936.

"Progress in Guam Under Governor Alexander." *The Guam Recorder*. Eleventh Year, No. 127. October 1934.

"Richard P. Leary General Order Nos. 1-21." *Guampedia*. <http://www.guampedia.com/leary-general-orders/>.

Rogers, Robert F. *Destiny's Landfall*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995.

Safford, William E. "A Year on the Island of Guam An Account of the First American Administration Extracts from the Note-Book of a Naturalist on the Island of Guam Part XXI." *The Guam Recorder*. 11, no. 12. March 1935.

Safford, William E. "A Year on the Island of Guam An Account of the First American Administration Extracts from the Note-Book of a Naturalist on the Island of Guam Part XXVII." *The Guam Recorder* 12, no. 6. September 1935.

Sanchez, Andriano C. "Prize Essay – How to Keep Farmers in the Farms." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 15, No. 5. August 1938.

Schroeder, Seaton. "Admiral Seaton Schroeder's Reminiscences of his Tour of Duty as Governor of Guam." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 3, No. 1. April 1926.

Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Siguenza, L.T. "Boys' and Girls' Agricultural Clubs." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 15, No. 11. February 1939.

Sohn, Hong K. *A Public Market Feasibility Study: The Prospect of Agriculture on Guam, U.S.A.*  
(Agana: Economic Research Center, Dept. of Commerce, Government of Guam, 1977).

Sounder, Laura Marie Torres. *Daughters of the Island: Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers on Guam*, Lanham and Mangilao, 1992.

Teaiwa, Teresia K. "Microwomen: U.S. Colonialism and Micronesian Women Activists." *Pacific History: Papers from the 8<sup>th</sup> Pacific History Association Conference* (Mangilao, Guam: University of Guam Press & Micronesian Area Research Center, 1992).

"The Fosiño." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 11, No. 124. July 1934.

"The Guam Agricultural Experiment Station Compiled from the Station's Publications and General Information," *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 8, No. 10. January 1932.

"The Guam Fair." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 12, No. 144. March 1936.

"The Honorable Ernest W. Gibson of Vermont In the House of Representatives Speaks in Defense of the People of Guam And for the Retention of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 8, No. 12. March 1932.

"The Objects of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station." *Guam News Letter*. Vol. 1, No. 12. March 1910.

"The Passing of the Agricultural Experiment Station." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 9, No. 5. August 1932.

"To the Ranch Young Folks." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 9, No. 7. October 1932.

Thomas, Nicholas. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Thompson, J.B. "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1911." Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912., 8.

Thompson, J.B. "Annual Report of the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station for 1912." Office of Experiment Stations, U.S. Department of Agriculture Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913., 8.

Thompson, Laura. *Guam and Its People*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947.

True, A.C. "Report of the Director of the States Relations Service," United States Department of Agriculture, States Relations Service, Washington, D.C., September 28, 1921.

Underwood, Robert A. "American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam." Dissertation: University of Southern California, 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Hispanicization as a Socio-historical Process on Guam." Unpublished manuscript: University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, 1979.

Viernes, James Perez. "Negotiating Manhood: Chamorro Masculinities and U.S. Military Colonialism in Guam, 1898-1941." Dissertation: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Press, 2015.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Chamorro Men in the Making Capitalism and Indigenous Masculinities Under US Naval Colonialism in Guam." eJournal of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Pacific Studies, Issues 1.2 and 2.1. April 2010.  
<http://intersections.anu.edu.au/pacificcurrents/viernes.htm>.

Vilar, Miguel G., Chim W. Chan, Dana R. Santos, Daniel Lynch, Rita Spathis, Ralph M. Garruto, J. Koji Lum. "The Origins and Genetic Distinctiveness of the Chamorros of the Marianas Islands: An mtDNA Perspective." *American Journal of Human Biology* 25, no. 1 (2013): 116-122, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/ajhb.22349>.

Wesley-Smith, Terence. "Rethinking Pacific Islands Studies." *Pacific Studies*. Vol. 18, No. 2. 1995.

"What Guam Needs." *The Guam Recorder*. Vol 8, No. 12. March 1932.

"What is a Farm?" *The Guam Recorder*. March 1932.

"Why Not More Improvements?" *The Guam Recorder*. Vol. 6, no. 7. October 1929.

Williams, Raymond. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1977.